

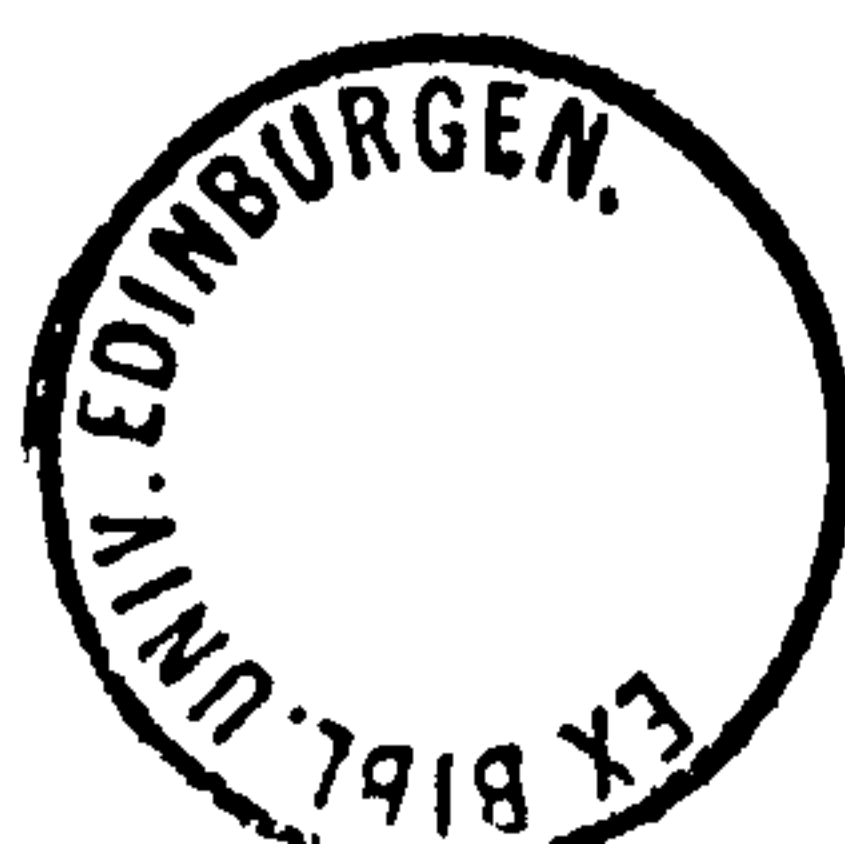
AN UNEXPLOITED SOURCE FOR
THE HISTORY OF THE SALJŪQS:
A TRANSLATION OF AND CRITICAL
COMMENTARY ON THE AKHBĀR
AL-DAWLAT AL-SALJŪQIYYA

by

QIBLA AYAZ

Thesis presented for the
Degree of Doctor of Philosophy,
University of Edinburgh

- 1985 -



Dedicated
to my teacher,
Professor Qāḍī Mujīb al-Raḥmān.

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis has been written by me (undersigned) and does not represent the work of any other person.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'QAA3' with a long horizontal stroke extending to the right.

Signature

ABSTRACT

The core of the present work is the translation of the Akḥbār al-dawlat al-Saljūqiyya, an original source for the history of the Great Saljūq sultans and of the later Saljūqs of Iraq and Western Persia (429-590/1038-1194).

The thesis has been divided into four chapters. The first chapter is introductory and is aimed at identifying the author of the Akḥbār al-dawlat al-Saljūqiyya and examining the various features of the work and the possible sources to which its author might have had access. Moreover, a general historical survey of the period with which the text deals has been included.

The remaining three chapters are devoted to a translation of the text; each chapter is followed by a commentary, where the fullest possible use is made of the other primary and secondary sources for the history of the period.

The events after the death of sultan Mas'ūd in 547/1152 until the collapse of the dynasty in 590/1194 lack a coherent pattern in the Akḥbār al-dawlat al-Saljūqiyya. To arrange them in a better order, three appendices have been added to the thesis.

An additional index has also been provided.

At the end of the thesis a genealogical table of the Saljūq sultans and maps of the territories which they ruled have been included.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

At this emotional moment of bringing the work to its end, and settling down to pen a few names to whom I feel indebted, on account of their being helpful in one way or another in carrying out this task, the first one which comes to mind is my supervisor, Dr. Carole Hillenbrand. To this lady, I owe profound gratitude for her taking a keen interest in my work and for her thorough supervision throughout a period of almost five years, commencing in October, 1980. Moreover, she showed me the "real generosity" of a scholar by allowing me access to her rich personal collection of material on Islamic History. In addition, during her trip to Pakistan in November, 1983, she was kind enough to take some time off from her busy schedule to make a point of meeting my father and travelling, along with her husband, all the way from Islamabad to Peshawar to visit my department and see my colleagues there in person. She also helped me in making use of some material in French and German.

I also wish to record my extreme debt to my parents who proved to be a source of constant encouragement throughout my education and bore all the expenses of my educational pursuits until I obtained my M.A. and was employed in the University of Peshawar.

I am unable to find words to acknowledge the gratitude I owe to Professor Dr. Qādī Mujīb al-Rahmān,

the Dean of the Faculty of Islamiyyāt, University of Peshawar to whom this work has been dedicated. This gentleman inspired my desire to make Islamic History a special field of interest. He has been my teacher and is now my Head, but above all a kind elder. His company has had a profound influence not only on my academic life but in its other aspects too. A selfless man like him is a rare commodity in today's world. The lessons I have learnt from his "assemblies" are an asset to my life and are very dear to me indeed.

During the course of this thesis, I have benefited in many ways from the help extended to me by a number of people and I am happy to record my thanks to them.

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profound knowledge of Arabic and Islamic History. They did this in spite of their own academic and family commitments and I acknowledge that without their help a number of questions in the text would have remained unsolved and several problems unresolved.

Dr. Celia A. Karslake of our department here in Edinburgh showed extreme patience in going through the Turkish manuscript of the Akhhbār al-mulūk and helping me to compare the material in it with our text of Akhhbār al-dawlat al-Saljūqiyya.

Dr. Robert Hillenbrand, the husband of my supervisor and a great bibliophile, helped me to find information about some little-known places and xeroxed some very valuable material for me from his own collection.

My thanks also go to the virtuous secretary of our department, Miss Irene Crawford. This person was always willing to assist with her remarkable kindness and sympathy. None of the students of our department will ever forget her.

I should also like to thank the staff of the Main Library of Edinburgh University. Much of this work has been carried out in the study-room 332 of this library. The people in charge of the research accommodation have always been very considerate and helpful and I am extremely grateful to them. The staff of the inter-library loan section of the Library also deserve my special thanks. Miss Margaret Dowling and Mrs. Jillian Nicol always took care to make sure that the material

I ordered was arranged for me as soon as possible - sometimes even from abroad. Their cooperation has contributed a great deal to the present work.

Besides that, my thanks are also due to the staff of the Central Library, Edinburgh and the National Library of Scotland and the staff of the libraries of the London School of Oriental and African Studies and Cambridge, Manchester and Glasgow Universities.

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Dr. Anīs al-Raḥmān, Research Student in Psychiatry, Edinburgh, was always willing to render himself and his car at my disposal whenever I visited the typist to deliver the material to her or fetch it from her as

she lived outside Edinburgh.

Mrs. May O'Donnell, my typist, also deserves my special thanks. This work, as is obvious, contains a great deal of difficult names and offers some peculiar problems to the typist. But despite this she typed the thesis with remarkable cheerfulness and patience.

I also wish to express my appreciation to my brothers and sister and numerous friends back home who helped to keep my spirits up by their letters, during my stay in Britain.

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them only twice and the last time I saw them was in October, 1982. Since then the only contact with them has been through letters. God and I alone know the intensity of the sad moments I spent without them. But, nevertheless, this temporary separation has invigorated me in a way that it inspired me to work hard and finish the thesis within the set time limit. Moreover, it helped me to discover the lady of such a strong will that is my wife who tolerated this terrible experience with remarkable patience and grace.

TRANSLITERATION TABLEConsonants

ع	'
ب	b
ت	t
ث	th
ج	j
ح	h
خ	kh
د	d
ذ	dh
ر	r
ز	z
س	s
ش	sh
ص	s
ض	d
ط	t
ظ	z
ع	'
غ	gh
ف	f
ق	q
ك	k
ل	l
م	m
ن	n

Consonants

و	w
ه	h
ي	y
ا	al

Vowels

Long:

آ	
أ	ā
إ	
او	ū
إي	ī

Short:

ا	a
و	u
ي	i

Doubled:

ياء	īyy
و	uww

Diphthongs:

او	aw
اي	ay

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ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE THESIS

'Abbās	'Abbās Eghbāl, <u>Wizārat dar 'ahd salāṭīn buzurg Saljūqī.</u>
Bayh	Bayhaqī, <u>Tārīkh Bayhaqī.</u>
BGA	Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum.
<u>BSOAS</u>	<u>Bulletin of the School of African and Oriental Studies.</u>
Bun	al-Bundārī, <u>Zubdat al-nuṣra wa nukhbat al-'uṣra.</u>
Būnyātūf	al-Ḥusaynī, <u>Akhbār al-dawlat al-Saljūqiyya,</u> translated into Russian by Diyā' al-Dīn Būnyātūf (Arabic Introduction).
<u>Dhayl</u>	Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, <u>Dhayl Saljūq Nāma.</u>
<u>Dynasties</u>	C.E. Bosworth, <u>The Islamic Dynasties: A Chronological and Genealogical Handbook.</u>
Editor	M. Iqbāl, the editor of al-Ḥusaynī, <u>Akhbār al-dawlat al-Saljūqiyya</u> (Lahore, 1933).
<u>EI</u> ^I	<u>Encyclopedia of Islam,</u> (1st edition).
<u>EI</u> ^{II}	_____, (2nd edition).
Faq	Ibn al-Faqīh, <u>Mukhtaṣar kitāb al-buldān.</u>
Fida	Abu'l-Fidā', <u>Taqwīm al-buldān.</u>
Gardīzī	Gardīzī, <u>Zayn al-akhbār,</u> ed. M. Nāẓim.
<u>Ghaznavids</u>	C.E. Bosworth, <u>The Ghaznavids: Their</u>

Empire in Afghanistan and Eastern
Iran, 994-1040.

- GMS Gibb Memorial Series.
- GMS (New) Gibb Memorial New Series.
- Hamdānī V.A. Hamdānī, A Critical Study of
the Sources for the History of the
Saljuqs of Iraq and Syria, (Unpublished
thesis).
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Administrative History under the Later
Ghaznavids, (Unpublished thesis).
- Haw. Ibn Ḥawqal, Kitāb al-masālik wa'l-
mamālik.
- Historiography C. Cahen, "The Historiography of the
Saljuqid Period", in Historians of
the Middle East.
- Hud Anon. Ḥudūd al-'ālam, ed. M. Sotoodeh.
- Hud (Commentary) ———, tr. V. Minorsky,
The Regions of the World.
- IA. Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil fi'l-tārīkh.
- IK. Ibn Khallikān, Kitab wafayāt al-a'yān
wa anbā' abnā' al-zamān, tr. M.G. De
Slane, Ibn Khallikan's Bibliographical
Dictionary.

- Iqbāl. The Preface in al-Ḥusaynī, Akhbār al-dawlat al-Saljūqiyya, ed. M. Iqbāl.
- Iranian World C.E. Bosworth, "The Political and Dynastic History of the Iranian World," in Cambridge History of Iran, V. The Saljuq and Mongol Periods.
- Ist. al-Iṣṭakhrī, Kitāb al-masālik wa'l-mamālik.
- JRAS Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
- Khur. Ibn Khurdadhbīh, Kitāb al-masālik wa'l-mamālik.
- Later Ghaznavids C.E. Bosworth, The Later Ghaznavids: Splendour and Decay.
- LEC G. Le Strange, The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate.
- Lexicon E.W. Lane, An Arabic-English Lexicon.
- Luther K.A. Luther, The Political Transformation of the Seljuq Sultanate of Iraq and Western Iran: 1152-1187.
- Munt. Ibn al-Jawzī, al-Muntaẓam fī tārīkh al-muluk wa'l-umam.
- Muq. al-Muqaddasī, Kitāb aḥsan al-taqasīm fī ma'rifat al-aqālīm.

Must	Qazwīnī, <u>Nuzhat al-qulūb</u> , ed. G. Le Strange.
Nish	Nīshāpūrī, <u>Saljūq-Nāma</u> .
Raw	al-Rāwandī, <u>Rāḥat al-ṣudūr wa āyat al-surūr</u> .
<u>Remarks</u>	M.T. Houtsma, "Some Remarks on the History of the Saljuks", in <u>Acta Orientalia</u> III (1924).
<u>Shaddādids</u>	V. Minorsky, "(i) New Light on the Shaddādids of Ganja. (ii) The Shaddādids of Anī" in <u>idem</u> , <u>Studies in Caucasian History</u> .
Text	al-Ḥusaynī, <u>Akhbār al-dawlat al- Saljūqiyya</u> , ed. M. Iqbāl (Lahore, 1933).
T.p.	Text page.
<u>Turkestan</u>	W. Barthold, <u>Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasion</u> .
Yaq.	Yāqūt, <u>Muʿjam al-buldān</u> .

POINTS OF DETAIL

1. The language of our text, Akhbār al-dawlat al-Saljūqiyya, as is obvious, poses some problems and it is hardly possible to render all its peculiar phrases and sentences and its overall style into elegant English. Efforts have been made with the help of authentic dictionaries to offer as exact a translation as possible. Where no suitable translation was found, a tentative rendering has been given and the phrase and its literal meaning have been provided in a footnote.
2. For the transliteration of the Arabic and Persian names, the system generally accepted at the University of Edinburgh has been followed. (See the "Transliteration Table" above.) For Turkish names, the system adopted by The Cambridge History of Iran, V has been used, with some minor changes (W for V, and Y for I in the case of diphthongs), in order to achieve as much consistency as possible with the system adopted for Arabic and Persian names.
3. The numbers of the pages of the published text of Akhbār al-dawlat al-Saljūqiyya have been put in the margin while the folio numbers of its manuscript have been inserted in the translation as they come.
4. Explanatory words have been added here and there in the translation, which are in parenthesis marked

off by round brackets.

5. Illegible names are transliterated in English capital letters without adding any vowels. Such phrases and lacunae are mentioned in the footnotes.

6. Question marks denote unlikely information in the text which are normally followed by a discussion in the footnotes.

7. The names of famous cities have not been transliterated and appear in their Westernised form, such as Baghdad, Mosul, Herat, etc. This also applies to well-known words such as caliph and sultan.

8. Footnotes pose a difficult problem in a work where hundreds occur in each chapter. To maintain consistency, abbreviation has been used for works which frequently crop up. However, in the case of scarcely used works, full reference with all particulars has been recorded once. Subsequent references are generally in shortened form, but full references are occasionally repeated.

9. The first names of the authors of the secondary sources have been dropped in the case of the reference to their articles in the Encyclopedia of Islam.

10. Lengthy titles of the contents of the text have been produced in a shortened form in the "Table of Contents" and repetition of the honorifics of the sultans and of their full family tree has been

avoided.

11. The maps provided at the back of the work are taken from G. Le Strange's Lands of the Eastern Caliphate.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

The work Akhbār al-dawlat al-Saljūqiyya, whose only known original manuscript has been preserved in the British Museum in London,¹ is, as will be discussed in detail below, a very valuable chronicle on the subject of the Great Saljuq sultans and of the later Saljūqs of Iraq and Western Persia (429-590/1038-1194).

The work was edited by M. Iqbāl² and published in Lahore in 1933. Since then, some scholars working on the Saljūq period have drawn on this work to some extent since it is an important source of information. However, it has not been used as widely as might be expected.

The first chapter of this thesis falls into three sections. The first two have two main aims:-

1. to identify the author of the work and assemble all the information about him available so far.
2. to examine the various features of the work and to explore what sources our author might have used.

The third section aims at providing a brief historical survey of the period which forms the subject of our text, Akhbār al-dawlat al-Saljūqiyya.

It is hoped that by identifying the author and

giving a description of the work, its real significance will come to light and its proper value will be appreciated.

SECTION 1

THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE WORK

It is interesting to note that the work edited by M. Iqbāl as the Akḥbār al-dawlat al-Saljūqiyya and generally known to Islamic scholars by this title is, in fact, never referred to by this name in the actual text, whereas at the very beginning it is explicitly called Zubdat al-tawārīkh.

A similar confusion arises over the identity of the author. On the title page of the manuscript the work is entitled Akḥbār al-dawlat al-Saljūqiyya and is attributed to Ṣadr al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Nāṣir b. 'Alī al-Ḥusaynī. But at the very beginning of the text, al-Ḥusaynī is mentioned in the third person and reference is made to the fact that: "al-Ḥusaynī related in his work which he entitled 'Zubdat al-tawārīkh', the stories of Saljūqs amīrs and kings."

Iqbāl throws light on this problem in his introduction to the text and discusses the views of the German scholar Süssheim who deals with the matter in great detail.³

According to Iqbāl, K. Süssheim thinks that the author of the work called Zubdat al-tawārīkh is Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Nāṣir al-Ḥusaynī "who lived and worked in

Khurāsān and was probably alive in 552/1157."⁴

According to Süsseim the author of the present text, Akhbār al-dawlat al-Saljūqiyya, is unknown. This unknown author used Zubdat al-tawārīkh as the main source for his chronicle, borrowing material from some other sources which are no longer extant, and drawing on oral information provided by eye-witnesses of the events.⁵

The opening lines of the text support the theory expressed by Süsseim that it is not possible to attribute the present work to al-Ḥusaynī, since as we have seen, al-Ḥusaynī is mentioned in the third person and given exalted titles along with his father.⁶ It is very unlikely that al-Ḥusaynī would attribute such titles to himself since this is contrary to the traditional practice of medieval Muslim authors who tend to use humble appellations for themselves in their works.

Moreover, according to Süsseim, the chronology of the work rules out the possibility of attributing it to al-Ḥusaynī. According to Süsseim, he probably flourished around the year 552/1157, but the text mentions 'Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī⁷ who wrote his work Zubdat al-nuṣra almost three decades after this date.

Another piece of illuminating evidence according to Süsseim is that the text carries on the account of the events until 622/1225⁸ which is seventy years after the date when al-Ḥusaynī is supposed to have lived. So if the dates of al-Ḥusaynī are indeed as

early as 552/1157, he could not have written the later part of the text.⁹

Bearing in mind the chronology of the present work, Süsseim suggests either of the two following historians as the possible author of Akḥbār al-dawlat al-Saljūqiyya.

1. Jamāl al-Dīn Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. al-Qiftī, the author of the Tārīkh al-ḥukamā' who also wrote a work called Kitāb tārīkh al-Saljūqiyya, which is no longer extant. The Akḥbār al-dawlat al-Saljūqiyya, according to Süsseim may be the same work.¹⁰

2. Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Zāfir b. al-Ḥusayn al-Khazrajī al-Miṣrī, who was in the service of the Ayyūbid rulers Malīk al-'Azīz and Malīk al-Ashraf in Syria and Egypt. He died in 623/1226. He wrote a work which consisted of four volumes called Akḥbār al-duwal al-munqaṭi'a including one volume about the Saljūqs entitled Tārīkh mulūk al-Saljūqiyya, which can no longer be traced.¹¹ According to Süsseim the lost work of Ibn Zāfir may be the Akḥbār al-dawlat al-Saljūqiyya.

Süsseim is very much inclined towards his second theory, i.e. that Ibn Zāfir may be the author because of an alleged similarity in style between the present work and Ibn Zāfir's Akḥbār al-duwal al-munqaṭi'a of which one volume still exists¹² along with another work of the same author called Bidā'i' al-bidā'a.¹³

Süsseim also supports his conjecture by giving

the following instances which, according to him, are only to be found in our text, Akhbār al-dawlat al-Saljūqiyya and in the work of Ibn Zāfir. In his opinion this points to a common author.¹⁴

1. The kunya Abu Ḥāmid for 'Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī is only used in our text¹⁵ and in Ibn Zāfir's Bidā'i' al-bidā'a.

2. The reference to the 1030 ratls weight of jewels in the possession of sultan Sanjar mentioned in Nihāyat al-arab of al-Nuwayrī who is drawing on Ibn Zāfir's Akhbār al-duwal al-munqaṭi'a is likewise only to be found in our text.¹⁶

In spite of this evidence, Süssheim does not, however, reach a definite decision on the authorship of the work under discussion here. The points which prevent him from stating firmly that Ibn Zāfir is the author of our text are as follows.

1. The chronology of Ibn Zāfir's work Akhbār al-duwal al-munqaṭi'a, according to Süssheim, differs considerably from our present text.¹⁷

2. Ibn Zāfir makes no mention of having visited Khwārazm and Rayy in his Bidā'i' al-bidā'a, while the author of our text certainly has been in these places.¹⁸ If Ibn Zāfir was the author of our text, he would most probably have mentioned these journeys in his other

works, since going to the distant lands of Khwārazm and al-Jibāl was not so insignificant a personal experience for an Egyptian.¹⁹

Besides Süsseim, other scholars have discussed the authorship of the present text. Barthold suggests that al-Ḥusaynī was in the service of the Khwārazm-Shāh Tekish (567-96/1172-1200) and that he wrote his work, Zubdat al-tawārīkh after 590/1194 (and before 622/1225).²⁰ Although Barthold does not mention any sources on which to base these assertions, it seems that he made this conjecture as a result of a reference in the Kashf al-ẓunūn to al-Ḥusaynī as the author of a work called Tārīkh Khwārazm-Shāhī.²¹ Moreover there is internal evidence in the text which suggests that the author in question and Tekish were contemporaries.²²

Houtsma suggests that the work had two authors; one (i.e. Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī) for the first part, and another who is unknown, for the last part. This unknown author according to Houtsma lived in the first half of the 7th/13th century.²³ Elsewhere he has suggested that al-Ḥusaynī's work is in the main an abridgement of 'Imād al-Dīn ^{al-}Iṣfahānī's work, Nuṣrat al-fatrah.²⁴

Cahen thinks that the work may have been composed by three authors, one of whom came from the north-west of Iran, as the text offers a good deal of material on this area.²⁵

Hamdānī surmises that the author of our text may

have been in the service of the caliph al-Nāṣir²⁶ (575-622/1180-1225), as he addresses this particular caliph as mawlānā, our lord.²⁷

However, it appears that Süssheim and the other scholars discussed above did not have access to certain sources, whose availability would have probably persuaded them to alter their views on this issue. Süssheim's suggestion on the authority of 'Umdat al-ṭālib, that 'Alī b. Nāṣir al-Ḥusaynī flourished around 552/1157 seems to be a conjecture based on a vague and incomplete reference in the source which does not provide enough substantial evidence for such an opinion.²⁸

There is, however, other proof which is relevant to this discussion and helps to provide a more satisfactory conclusion.

For example, Muḥammad 'Awfī²⁹ (d. ca. 640/1242) in his Lubāb al-albāb mentions one of his contemporaries as "Ṣadr al-Ajall, Ṣadr al-Milla wa 'l-Dīn, Malik al-Sādāt, Sayyid al-Ajall, Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Nīshāpūrī," who was, according to 'Awfī, a well-known Sayyid and a learned man of the time. He was in charge of the dīwān istīfā' at Nīshāpūr. At the end of his life he resigned from office and devoted his time to composing the chronicle of sultan Sikandar, i.e. the Khwarāzm-Shāh 'Alā al-Dīn Muḥammad (596-617/1200-20). His work entitled Tārīkh Khwārazm-Shāhī was composed in a style more excellent than 'Utbī's. 'Awfī also records some of his Arabic and Persian verses. 'Awfī says

that he ('Awfī) when in Nīshāpūr in 603/1206 used to pay him visits.³⁰

Ibn al-'Adīm (Kamāl al-Dīn b. al-'Adīm, d. 660/1262)³¹ in his Bughyat al-ṭalab fī tārīkh Ḥalab explicitly refers to "Amīr Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. al-Shahīd Abu 'l-Fawāris Nāṣir b. 'Alī al-Ḥusaynī" as the author of a work, Zubdāt al-tawārīkh. He further claims that he has seen an epitome (muntakhab) of this work.³² He also quotes a passage from Zubdat al-tawārīkh which fully corresponds to a passage in our text, Akhbār al-dawlat al-Saljūqiyya. The passage in question touches upon some of the virtues of sultan Alp-Arslan.³³

³⁴
'Aṭā Malik al-Juwaynī in his work, Tārīkh Jahān Gūshā (composed 658/1259) also quotes a passage of the description of a citadel of the Bāṭinīs from a work entitled Zubdat al-tawārīkh which he also explicitly attributes to "Sayyid Ṣadr al-Dīn." The passage in Zubdat al-tawārīkh seems to be a reference to the conquest of the citadel by the penultimate Saljūq sultan, Arslan-Shāh (556-71/1161-76) probably during 560/1164.³⁵ The curious point, however, is the fact that this passage is absent from the text at our disposal.³⁶

A later Persian work Haft iqlīm composed in 1002/1593 by Aḥmad Amīn Rāzī, also refers to one "Sayyid al-Ajall Ṣadr al-Dīn" as the author of Tārīkh Khwārazm-Shāhī in a "style at which none could raise the finger of criticism."³⁷

In his bibliographical work Kashf al-ẓunūn, Ḥājjī Khalīfa (Kātib Çelebi, d. 1067/1657)³⁸ also attributes a work called Tārīkh Khwārazm-Shāhī to "al-Sayyid al-Ajall Ṣadr al-Dīn."³⁹

In an unpublished Turkish work entitled Akhbār al-mulūk composed in 1011/1602 by an anonymous author, which we will discuss in more detail later, there is a reference to "Ṣadr al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī" as the author of Zubdat al-tawārīkh. This Turkish work seems to be based mainly on Zubdat al-tawārīkh. It offers us some extra material which is not to be found in our present text of Akhbār al-dawlat al-Saljūqiyya.

On examining the information provided by these sources, we can reach the conclusion that our author is, however, hardly to be identified with the person mentioned by Süssheim who, as he thinks, lived in the middle of the 6th/11th century.⁴⁰

The fact that the very same titles are used for our author at the same time in our text of Akhbār al-dawlat al-Saljūqiyya and in the other sources mentioned above, is a possible indication that reference is indeed being made here to one and the same man, who in all likelihood seems to be Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Nāṣir al-Ḥusaynī.

To bring together all these fragmentary references it would appear reasonable to suggest that 'Alī b. Nāṣir al-Ḥusaynī, a native of Nīshāpūr and the person in charge of dīwān istīfā' during the reign of the

Khwārazm-Shāh 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad (596-617/1200-20) wrote a work entitled Zubdat al-tawārīkh sometime after 622/1225, which was then epitomised and abridged by one of his friends or eulogists under the title Akhbār al-dawlat al-Saljūqiyya. This approach is common enough in the medieval period, but what is odd is that his friend or eulogist chose to remain anonymous.

The suggestion that al-Ḥusaynī was a native of Nishāpūr is not based only on the reference of 'Awfī, but there is also one piece of internal evidence to support it. In our text the author speaks of travelling to Khwārazm⁴¹ and meeting a merchant on the banks of the Oxus near the city of Darghān. This reference supports our suggestion that the traveller may very well have been a native of the Eastern provinces of Iran and most probably came from Khurāsān which had common borders with Khwārazm.⁴²

The suggestion that our author al-Ḥusaynī was in charge of the dīwān istīfā' at Nishāpūr during the reign of the Khwārazm-Shāh 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad does not seem an unsubstantial one either. Nishāpūr fell to the Khwārazm-Shāh Tekish (567-96/1172-1200) in 583/1187⁴³ and the Khwārazm-Shāh 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad obtained possession of Khurāsān first in 597-98/1201⁴⁴ and then in the early years of the 7th/13th century when he finally wrested it from Ghiyāth al-Dīn Maḥmūd⁴⁵ (602-9/1206-12) of the Ghūrid dynasty.⁴⁶ There are references to the presence of the Khwārazm-Shāh himself

in Khurāsān during 602-3/1206-7.⁴⁷ This is precisely the period in which al-Ḥusaynī is supposed to have lived and worked and been visited by Muḥammad 'Awfī. It is al-Ḥusaynī who is supposed to have written a work called Tārīkh Khwārazm-Shāhī, most probably during this period or a little later; a work in which there is special emphasis, as 'Awfī seems to suggest, on the life of sultan Khwārazm-Shāh Muḥammad, the author's possible employer.

It seems safe to suggest that his appointment to the position of mustawfī was not a major ambition of his. He does not appear to have been a man with a desire for power and prestige or endowed with administrative skills. He was relieved of his responsibilities at his own request and not because of falling from grace. 'Awfī's note on him leads us to this conclusion. He says, "He himself asked (the sultan) to relieve him of the office of istīfā'." "He removed the burden of the duties from his head" and "achieved what he desired." "He was busy day and night in writing the history of sultan Sikandar (i.e. Muḥammad)." ⁴⁸

It is difficult to establish how long our author worked as mustawfī for the Khwārazm-Shāh Muḥammad and whether he accompanied the sultan to Khwārazm or not. His work on the dynasty of the Khwārazm-Shāhs has not come down to us which would probably have helped to answer these questions. But if we trust 'Awfī, it would appear appropriate to suggest that his period as

mustawfī must have lasted for a considerable number of years. He was probably appointed as mustawfī in 602-3/1206-7 when the sultan Khwārazm-Shāh Muḥammad was in Khurāsān. 'Awfī clearly refers to him as mustawfī when he meets him in 603/1207 in Nīshāpūr. 'Awfī further says that he (al-Ḥusaynī) was relieved of the office of mustawfī in the last part of his life. If we assume that he died shortly after he completed his work Zubdat al-tawārīkh (i.e. after 622/1225), and suppose that he resigned from his office in 615-16/1218-19 before the death of his employer in 617/1220, then his acting as mustawfī would extend for a period of 12-13 years. Over such a long time, the author must have accompanied the sultan to Khwārazm, although there is a dearth of information about him in the sources. The only reference in our text to the author going to Khwārazm may be relevant in this context.⁴⁹

The author's interest in the affairs of the Khwārazm-Shāhs, or rather his sympathy and inclination towards them, is also evident from a reference to the author's presence at Rayy, after the town fell to the Khwārazmīs in 590/1194.⁵⁰

As for the assertion that our text, Akḥbār al-dawlat al-Saljūqiyya, is an abridgment of the larger work of al-Ḥusaynī, Zubdat al-tawārīkh, we have the reference of Ibn al-'Adīm and the supplementary passages quoted by ^{al-}Juwaynī and found in Akḥbār al-mulūk which may be taken as evidence to support this

hypothesis. There are also internal details which point to the same conclusion, not to mention the style of the text itself which sometimes betrays the fact that it is an epitome.

As internal evidence in the text, there is mention in the account of a certain 'Abbās, the lord of Rayy, that he was a ghulām of Jawhar.⁵¹ This is followed by the claim of the author that Jawhar was the lord of Rayy on behalf of sultan Sanjar and that "he has already been mentioned (madhkūr) amongst the close associates of the sultan." Now we have a reference to some of the ghulāms and close associates of sultan Sanjar in the text,⁵² but nowhere does one encounter another reference to Jawhar.

There is another piece of internal evidence. We have in the text a swift mention of the humiliating defeat and capture of sultan Sanjar by the Ghuzz which is followed by the claim of the author that: "The account of this event has already been given in the first part of our chronicle."⁵³ On examining the text no explicit further reference to the battle between sultan Sanjar and the Ghuzz is to be found.

All these points provide us with a solid base for the suggestion that Akhhbār al-dawlat al-Saljūqiyya is an abridgment of Zubdat al-tawārīkh and thus the original work of Sayyid Ṣadr al-Dīn 'Alī b. Naṣir al-Ḥusaynī has been preserved for us in an epitomised form.

It has not, however, proved possible to establish a date for the abridgment of Zubdat al-tawārīkh into its present form as the Akhbār al-dawlat al-Saljūqiyya, but if we assume that the epitome of Zubdat al-tawārīkh which Ibn al-‘Adīm mentions in his Bughyat al-ṭalab was no other work but our text, then it may be inferred that it must have been written and accessible to the public before Ibn al-‘Adīm's death in 660/1262.

The suggestion that the anonymous person who abridged Zubdat al-tawārīkh was al-Ḥusaynī's eulogist or friend is made on the basis of the very first lines of the text, where al-Ḥusaynī is mentioned in the third person with additional exalted titles and in reverential style.

To sum up, the following conclusions may be postulated:

1. Sayyid Ṣadr al-Dīn ‘Alī b. Nāṣir al-Ḥusaynī belonged to Nīshāpūr.
2. He was in the service of the Khwārazm-Shāh Muḥammad as mustawfī.
3. He wrote Zubdat al-tawārīkh after 622/1225 and also another work called Tārīkh Khwārazm-Shāhī.
4. The former work was then abridged before 660/1262, and has come down to us as Akhbār al-dawlat al-Saljūqiyya.
5. Thus, it is possible to attribute the material of the Akhbār al-dawlat al-Saljūqiyya to al-Ḥusaynī.

SECTION 2

THE SOURCES AND DIFFERENT FEATURES OF THE WORK

The present work Akhbār al-dawlat al-Saljūqiyya as explained earlier is a detailed chronicle of the Saljūq dynasty of Iran. It provides rich and valuable information about the emergence of the Saljūqs and their coming to power, covering the rise, zenith and decline of their reign. Thus it furnishes us with material about Ghaznawid-Saljūq relations, Saljūq-Byzantine relations, Saljūq-Georgian relations and Saljūq-Khwārazm-Shāh relations.

Although the material about the earlier Saljūq period is written in compact style, some of the information is not to be found anywhere in other sources. Of special interest is, as we will see below, the detailed information our text provides on the battle between the Saljūq sultan Alp-Arslan and the Byzantine emperor Romanus at Malāzgird in 463/1071. Moreover, as will be discussed in detail later, the account of the events where the author seems to be a contemporary, i.e. the last period of the Saljūqs, is also furnished with rich material.

The work has 111 folios in naskhī script and is divided into 41 chapters. Of the last two chapters one

gives⁵⁴ a general account of the dates of the accession and death of the different Saljūq sultans and also repeats the dates of some important events, while the other⁵⁵ deals briefly with the mamlūks of the Saljūq sultans. These two chapters can be considered as a very general summary of the text. The remaining 39 chapters which form the main body of the work are concerned with the history of the various Saljūq sultans.

The work starts with an account of the rise of the Saljūq family and their coming into prominence in the late 4th/10th century. The work then gives an account of the Saljūqs seizing power in Khurāsān and the accession there of the first Saljūq sultan Toghrīl in 429/1038. The text then covers the whole of the history of the Saljūqs of Iran down to the last Saljūq sultan Toghrīl (571-90/1176-94).

The pattern of our text more or less resembles that of medieval works in Persian, such as Nīshāpūrī's Saljūq-Nāma and ^{/al-}Rāwandī's Raḥat al-ṣudūr. The author divides the work into chapters and sub-chapters in which he treats the different events that have taken place during the reign of a particular sultan. He then gives a brief account of the life and character of the sultan followed by the mention of his heir-apparent and the officials of his court whenever material on them is available to him.⁵⁶

The author's treatment of the Saljūq sultans in

most cases is a favourable one. He presents them in a positive light and praises them for their justice and good rule.⁵⁷ However, he is even more complementary in his presentation of the caliphs. He mentions them in a reverential manner and stresses their religious authority,⁵⁸ although not to the degree ^{al-}Iṣfahānī does in his Zubdat al-nuṣra.

It is worth noting that when the caliph and the sultan are at daggers drawn, our author makes efforts to give an impartial report of the events, although making a slight allowance for the holiness of the caliph.⁵⁹

The same impartiality of our author prevails in reporting detailed events of dynastic struggles, as for example when he gives an account of the battles between the Saljūq sultans and the sultans of other contemporary dynasties. He reports the defeats of the Saljūq sultans as well as their conquests, despite using expressions to magnify the Saljūq side.⁶⁰

In view of this our text can be considered among pro-Saljūq sources, but not as a panegyric one, which praises the Saljūqs at all costs.

In the case of the Ismā'īlīs our author follows precedent and calls them Bāṭinīs and mulāḥida⁶¹ (mulhids, heretics).

As far as the style of our author is concerned, it varies from page to page. Sometimes his mode of writing is plain and simple, but on other occasions

he tends to use extremely hyperbolic and florid expressions, which do not always add anything significant to the account. This variety of style can be explained by the different sources at our author's disposal. From these he lifts passages and puts them together to form his own account of events. Only a few of these sources are known to us so far, but it does appear that the author has deliberately excerpted flowery material from other sources in substantial areas of his work. Needless to say, this was not against the literary norms of the age of the author. It seems appropriate to quote some of his hyperbolic expressions to be found here and there in the pages of our text. In the battle of Dandānqān between the Ghaznawids and the Saljūqs, the swords of the Saljūqs "fell on the coats of arms which were torn and skulls which were split."⁶² When the caliph al-Qā'im bestowed robes of honour upon sultan Toghril, "the dread of (Toghril) grew, his dignity increased and his territories became more extensive."⁶³ In the battle between sultan Alp-Arslan and his brother Qawurt "dread of him (Alp-Arslan's) worked in the minds (of the army of Qawurt) in the same way as his swords acted on their bodies."⁶⁴ In another battle between Sulaymān-Shāh and his nephew sultan Muḥammad "the swords were broken and the horizons were red because of the dashing together of the waves of the blood that had been shed."⁶⁵ "As if the war had guaranteed food

for the vultures and eagles or it had undertaken to feed the hyenas and wolves."⁶⁶

Our author also adorns his work with verses wherever relevant and appropriate. Usually, though not always, the verses are placed in a position in which their content has some relevance to the historical context. The literary quality of the poetry is usually not very high, although some of it is quite striking. To quote but one example one may cite the verse which is attributed by the author to caliph al-Qā'im in which he (al-Qā'im) says: "What fear have I of appearing in public when the Lord of mankind knows (everything about me)."⁶⁷

Besides poetry, the author uses proverbs on a number of occasions. For instance, an old man who encounters sultan Alp-Arslan is considered to be "more veracious than a sand-grouse."⁶⁸ Qawurt "repents like the repentance of Kusa'iyy."⁶⁹ "The khāqān becomes "like a flint which does not produce a spark."⁷⁰

Another feature of our text which deserves mention is the anecdotal material which the author adds to his account of different events. These anecdotes considerably enliven the account, although their content is hard to assess. To mention a few of these anecdotes one may cite the stories about sultan Toghrīl,⁷¹ the wazīr 'Amīd al-Mulk al-Kundurī,⁷² the 'amīd of Khurāsān,⁷³ the khāqān,⁷⁴ Nizām al-Mulk,⁷⁵ and sultan Malik-Shāh.⁷⁶ Two of the anecdotes in the text are based on the author's

personal experience where he has derived information from oral sources; one of them is about the battle of Malāzgird which he heard from a certain imām Musharraḥ al-Shīrāzī⁷⁷ and the other is about the battle between the last Saljūq sultan Toghrīl and the Khwārazm-Shāh Tekish which he narrates on the authority of Amīn al-Dīn al-Zanjānī.⁷⁸ The author had apparently met both these people.

Much of the valuable material which our text provides in its pages is certainly borrowed from sources which are lost to us. Of great importance for the first part of the work until the battle of Dandānqān (431/1040), is the missing Malik-Nāma which is believed to be the first original source written very early for sultan Alp-Arslan. The work seems to have been based on oral information derived from the oldest surviving member of the family of Amīr Saljūq, a certain Īnanch-Beg, whom it is assumed, possessed a good deal of knowledge of the origin of his family and contemporary developments. The similarity in the account of the origin of the Saljūqs in most of medieval Arabic and Persian sources suggests that they directly or indirectly had access to one and the same source, which in all likelihood was ^{the} Malik-Nāma. The original work would appear to have been written in Persian and then at a later stage translated into Arabic.⁷⁹

The other possible source which the author of our

text might have used, especially for the material on the relationship between the Ghaznawids and the early Saljūqs, seems to be the lost Mashārib al-tajārib of Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Zayd al-Bayhaqī better known as Ibn Funduq⁸⁰ (499-565/1105-1170), the author of Tārīkh Bayhaq.⁸¹ Although our author usually does not cite any source from which he copies, there is internal evidence which leads us to believe that he had a copy of Mashārib at his disposal. The account of al-Kundurī, the wazīr to sultan Toghrīl I, which covers three pages of our text⁸² is similar to that in Yāqūt's Irshād al-arīb⁸³ who explicitly acknowledges Mashārib as his source for that particular section. It is worthwhile to note that even the headings of the two sources (i.e. Irshād and our text) correspond to each other, with only a minor alteration on our author's part: the use of the wazīr's title (ʿAmīd al-Mulk) instead of his name as in Irshād. This strengthens our argument that our author like Yāqūt in his Irshād might have preserved for us some material of Mashārib.

Another source to which our author seems to have access would appear to be the lost work of Abū Ghālib 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. Mas'ūd b. 'Abd al-Wāḥib b. al-Ḥuṣayn al-Shaybānī (d. 597), which was written as a continuation of the abridgement of Tārīkh Ṭabarī. The author acted for some time as wazīr for Malik al-Zāhir, the Ayyubid ruler of Aleppo (582-613/1186-1216). Some parts of his work are preserved in the Bughyat al-ṭalab of Ibn al-

'Adīm which suggest that he (al-Shaybānī) had a good deal of information about sultan Alp-Arslan in his work. When one compares Bughyat al-ṭalab and our text Akhbār al-dawlat al-Saljūqiyya, it becomes evident that our author has borrowed and quoted word for word a full section of the account of Alp-Arslan from the work of al-Shaybānī without acknowledging it, as usual.⁸⁴ This section covers two pages of our text⁸⁵ and consists mainly of the du'ā' which caliph al-Qā'im had ordered to be composed and read from the pulpits for the success of sultan Alp-Arslan in his battle at Malāzgird against the Byzantines in 463/1071. It is the probable use of this source which has so enriched al-Ḥusaynī's account of the expeditions of sultan Alp-Arslan into the "lands of the Byzantines."⁸⁶

Nuṣrat al-fatra wa 'usrat al-fiṭra of 'Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī⁸⁷ which was based on the memoirs of wazīr Anūshirwān b. Khālīd⁸⁸ called Futūr zamān al-ṣudūr wa ṣudūr zamān al-futūr is another source which our author seems to have used for his work. This source is the only one which he has clearly acknowledged. This he does in four places.⁸⁹ As well as these few sporadic acknowledgements of his debt to 'Imād al-Dīn's work Nuṣrat al-fatra, there are a number of textual similarities between our text and the Zubdat al-nuṣra wa nukhbat al-'uṣra,⁹⁰ a faithful abridgement of Nuṣrat al-fatra⁹¹ composed by Faṭḥ b. 'Alī al-Bundārī in 623/1226.⁹² Moreover the portrayal of the events of

the period from more or less the last part of the reign of sultan Malik-Shāh (i.e. 484-5/1091-92) to the death of sultan Mas'ūd (i.e. 547/1152)⁹³ in these two sources is broadly similar. These resemblances between the two works and our author's explicit mention of 'Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī lead us to believe that Nuṣrat al-fatra was one of the most important sources for our author over the period 485-547/1092-1152.⁹⁴ Houtsma's suggestion that our text is an abridgement of al-Iṣfahānī's Nuṣrat al-fatra, however, seems a little hasty.⁹⁵ The very structure of both works is different; 'Imād al-Dīn's work is basically an account of the wazīrs of the Saljūq period, while our text is a history of the Saljūq sultans. Beside that, our text offers supplementary material and there is evidence that our author al-Ḥusaynī had access to some other sources as well as al-Iṣfahānī's Nuṣrat al-fatra even for that particular period. For instance al-Ḥusaynī quotes an anecdote about the wazīr Niẓām al-Mulk from a panegyric work written probably by a high official of his reign about his sīra which our author had the chance to read.⁹⁶

No particular sources can be suggested for al-Ḥusaynī's account of the period from 547/1152 to 556/1161 which is one of utter confusion and uncertainty, the period between the death of sultan Mas'ūd and the coming to power of Arslan-Shāh in which the race for power among the two brothers, Muḥammad and Malik-Shāh, the sons of Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad and their uncle Sulaymān-

Shāh b. Muḥammad paved the way for the complete domination of the Saljūq sultans by their Eldigūzid atabegs. The events and the chronology for this period which covers 19 pages of our text is confused and disorderly. However, it is true that the work has a good deal of rare material particularly on the subject of the exchange of messages between sultan Muḥammad and caliph al-Muqtafi⁹⁸ and the skill of the caliph's wazīr Yaḥya b. Hubayra in dealing with the problems.⁹⁹

There is also useful material in the last part of our text¹⁰⁰ which deals with the 34 years' rule (556-90/1161-94) of the last two Saljūq sultans and the emergence and decline of the Eldigūzid atabegs of Āzarbā Ījān. It is very probable, as has been discussed at length in previous pages, that the author lived through this period and that he gathered his information from those who had witnessed the events themselves or knew about them through another source. One such example, as also mentioned above, is found on page 191, where the author provides us with some unique material about the battle in 590/1194 on the outskirts of Rayy between the Khwārazm-Shāh Tekish and the last Saljūq sultan Toghrīl, on the authority of the nā'ib of the wālī of Rayy on that occasion.

In this section our text is provided with ample information about the miserable state of the last Saljūq sultans who had totally lost their grandeur and the ability to exercise their own power to the

Eldigüzid atabegs. The text also contains rare material on the subject of the wars between the Georgians and the Eldigüzids, the relationship of the Eldigüzids with the contemporary 'Abbāsid caliphs and the gradual transformation of al-Jibāl into the hands of the Khwārazm-Shāhs.

In view of this it would not be improper to suggest that our text is one of the few available original sources for this otherwise little known period of late medieval Islamic history and that it contributes a good deal to the scarce material available about this era.¹⁰¹ This does not undermine the value of our text for earlier Saljūq history, as has already been discussed.

An anonymous writer seems to have been the first to recognise the value of al-Ḥusaynī's work and to make extensive use of it in his work which is entitled Akḥbār al-mulūk. The only known manuscript of the work is preserved in the Bodleian Library in Oxford.¹⁰² It is written in Ottoman Turkish and is dated 1011/1603. It contains 163 folios in beautiful and clear naskhī script.

From a comparison of the manuscript of the Akḥbār al-mulūk and of our text, the Akḥbār al-dawlat al-Saljūqiyya, it becomes evident that the author of the Akḥbār al-mulūk has derived much information from al-Ḥusaynī's work. Numerous similarities can be spotted at a cursory glance of both the sources in

this regard. Sometimes the author of the Akḥbār al-mulūk seems to have copied al-Ḥusaynī's work verbatim and has even repeated his mistakes.¹⁰³

It is, however, interesting to note that the Akḥbār al-mulūk has some additional chapters and some supplementary material in the main body of the work, which do not form part of our text, Akḥbār al-dawlat al-Saljūqiyya. This adds weight to our suggestion that our text is an abridgement of al-Ḥusaynī's lost Zubdat al-tawārīkh.

The discovery of the manuscript of the Akḥbār al-mulūk has raised our hopes that the full text of Zubdat al-tawārīkh has been preserved here in Turkish form. This suggestion is further strengthened by the fact that Zubdat al-tawārīkh seems to be the only source to which the author of Akḥbār al-mulūk explicitly refers.¹⁰⁴

Perhaps one day a Turkish scholar will edit the work - either the whole manuscript or at least the portions which are not included in our text of Akḥbār al-dawlat al-Saljūqiyya - and will translate it into English, thus making it accessible to students in the field. So we would have at our disposal the full contents of Zubdat al-tawārīkh in at least translated form, if not in the Arabic original.

It is a pity, however, that the author of Akḥbār al-mulūk has concerned himself only with the contents of Zubdat al-tawārīkh and does not provide us with any

information about its author, al-Ḥusaynī. One is tempted to suggest that most probably he himself did not know anything about him.

Houtsma seems to have been the first modern scholar who drew the attention of the researchers in the field of Islamic history to our text, Akhbār al-dawlat al-Saljūqiyya as early as 1886. He first intended to edit the work and publish it, but then gave up the idea perhaps owing to the fact that the task of producing a good edition from a single manuscript was not an easy one or perhaps because he, at that time, did not fully appreciate the value of the work.¹⁰⁵

A year later in 1887 another scholar, Baron Victor Von Rosen, translated and reviewed in Russian a section of the text relating to the battle of Malāzgird (463/1070) between the Saljūqs and the Byzantines and published it.¹⁰⁶

Then some 24 years later, Süßsheim wrote his introduction to the text. In his "Prolegomena", as well as expressing his opinion on the authorship of our text, which has been discussed in detail in the previous pages, he promised to edit the work and translate it into German. However, like Houtsma, he also could not fulfil his promise.¹⁰⁷

Having been edited by Iqbāl, al-Ḥusaynī's work was then rendered into modern Turkish by Naçatî Lûgal and published in 1943 in Ankara. Lûgal does not,

however, seem to have made strenuous efforts to examine the text minutely. He does not deal at all with the different issues raised by the work. Moreover, he has left the poetry in the text untranslated.¹⁰⁸

A Soviet scholar, Diyā' al-Dīn Būnyātūf, is the latest scholar to work on the text. He produced a Russian translation accompanied by a commentary. He devotes 14 pages to a preface in Arabic beside one in Russian. This work was published in Moscow in 1980 along with the photographic version of the original manuscript of the text preserved in the British Museum. He and some other Soviet scholars also seem to have made use of the last part of the text which deals with the activities of the Georgians, for their articles on the subject in Georgian and Russian.¹⁰⁹

It is quite clear that like Süssheim, the other scholars also did not know of Akhbār al-mulūk as none of them make any mention of it.¹¹⁰

The Russian translation of the text may be a scholarly work, but it is obvious that only an insignificant number of the students of Islamic history outside the USSR can benefit from it and there is still a need to translate and analyse the work into a language which is understood by a wide circle of academics all over the globe.

Iqbāl did his best to edit the work, but as he himself avows "was not able to evolve a satisfactory text."¹¹¹ Many textual problems, it is true, have

been left unsolved and a number of lacunae are still to be found here and there in the text.¹¹² Moreover, the information provided by the work is sometimes in too much of a tangle to be useful. In a number of places the order of the events is not accurate. Events are related, but links are missing. The author sometimes tends to relate events without recording any dates for them and when he does so, they are found to be confused and confusing. Sometimes the description is too vague to be of any value for an exact reference. Names are mentioned but cannot be identified.

All these flaws and imperfections which one encounters again and again in the text minimise the usefulness of the work at present and still provide one with more scope to work on the text and to study it more closely and critically.

It is hoped that the following English translation of the text with a historical commentary which analyses its complicated sections and discusses the wider issues raised by it, will provide a new contribution to the study of the Saljūq period of Islamic history and make the text, if published, more useful to scholars of the period.

SECTION 3

A GENERAL SURVEY OF THE RISE, ZENITH
AND FALL OF THE SALJŪQ DYNASTY

The coming of the Saljūqs into the Islamic world and their emergence as a great political power are very significant aspects of 5th/11th century Islamic history.¹¹³ This was the period when the political unity of the Islamic dawla had dissolved and the power of the 'Abbāsid caliphate at Baghdad had declined, partly because of the establishment of the Spanish Umayyad caliphate (138-442/756-1031) in Cordoba and the Shī'ite Fāṭimid caliphate (297-567/909-1171) in Cairo as its rival and partly because of its own disintegration into many states ruled by various dynasties. These dynasties had occupied different parts of the Islamic world and ruled almost or completely independently from Baghdad.¹¹⁴

The Shī'ite Būyids had occupied Baghdad in 334/945 and usurped the political authority of the caliph even in Baghdad. The Būyids being Shī'a did not even maintain an outward appearance of respect for the Sunnī caliph whose position was reduced to that of a mere puppet in their hands.¹¹⁵

On the other hand, Maḥmūd of Ghazna (387-421/998-

1030) was concerned about the ascendancy of the Shī'a in the Islamic world. In 396/1005-6 he sent an expedition against the Qarāmiṭa (i.e. Isma'īlīs) of Multan and Sind and there is some suggestion that he even planned to free the caliph from the tutelage of the Būyids. This plan, however, did not materialise before Maḥmūd's death in 421/1030.¹¹⁶

Amidst this uncertain political situation in the Islamic world, the Saljūqs appeared on the scene as the masters of Khurāsān (429/1038) and started a new era in the history of Islam. The seizure of power by the Saljūqs entailed the ejection of the Ghaznawids from Khurāsān and the ousting of the Shī'ite Būyids from Baghdad.

The traditional account of the political evolution of the Saljūqs starts from Yuqaq who had attained the position of the closest associate of the "king of the Turks", Yabghu, who ruled the vast desert region stretching from the delta of the Jaxartes (Syr Darya, Sayhūn) to the Volga, with his winter capital at Yengi-Kent or Qaryat al-ḥadītha, Dih naw, as the Islamic sources would call it. After the death of Yuqaq, probably in the early 4th/10th century, his son, Saljūq, enjoyed the same status and was elevated to the position of sū-bashī, the general of the army. But relations between the king and Saljūq did not remain cordial and Saljūq soon migrated to Jand, where he and his followers accepted Islam and expelled

the governor of the "king of the Turks".¹¹⁷

The prevailing political state of affairs in the regions of Transoxiana and Khwārazm in this period favoured the Saljūqs and provided them with a chance to make way for themselves. Both the ruling dynasties, i.e. the Sāmānids and the Qarakhānids, were involved in a contest of arms against each other. The Saljūqs threw their weight behind the former and aided Nūḥ II b. Maṣṣūr (366-87/976-97) against the Qarakhānid Bughra Khān, probably in 382/992. The gain they made out of this alliance was that they occupied a new pasture at Nūr near the Samānid capital Bukhāra, although they were not whole-heartedly welcomed there by their ally. By this time Saljūq and probably his son Mīkā'īl had died in Jand and these Ghuzz Turcomans were now led by Arslan and Mūsā, the sons of Saljūq, and Toghrīl and Chaghrī Beg Dā'ūd, the sons of Mīkā'īl.

On the fall of the Sāmānid dynasty in 395/1005 the remnants of its dominion were divided between the Qarakhānids and Ghaznawids. The region continued to be the arena of war between the two factions of the Qarakhānids, into which Maḥmūd of Ghazna also plunged in favour of Qadīr Khān Yūsuf of Kāshghar and Khotan to help him in his struggle for supremacy against his brother 'Alī-Tegin, who had the support of the Saljūqs.

It was at this point in 416-17/1025-26 that Maḥmūd saw the need to minimise the growing political power of the Saljūqs. He captured their leader Arslan Isrā'īl

and settled some Saljūq groups near Khurāsān. Toghrīl and Chagrī Beg with their uncle Mūsā, however, continued to try their luck in Transoxiana in the hope of gaining a strong foothold for themselves.

But to their dismay, their former ally 'Alī-Tegin turned his back on them shortly before his death in 425/1034 and their relationship with him took a turn for the worst. After his death the Saljūqs sought shelter in Khwārazm, where the rebel Ghaznawid vassal, Khwārazm-Shāh Hārūn b. Altun-Tash had promised them pastures. Instead of fulfilling his promise to them, he received them with a shower of arrows. Taking advantage of their miserable state, the Ghuzz Yabghu Shāh-Malik who was their old enemy launched an onslaught against them and this proved to be the last straw for them. Now their only possible refuge could be farther south in Khurāsān in Ghaznawid territory.¹¹⁸ By this time Maḥmūd of Ghazna had died and had been succeeded by his son Mas'ūd (421-32/1031-41). Mas'ūd did not possess his father's ability to keep these unruly nomads under control. Taking the advantage of the inconsistencies of his strategy, the Saljūqs captured Nīshāpūr in 429/1038 under the unanimous leadership of Toghrīl b. Mīkā'il. Mas'ūd attempted in 431/1040 to recover Nīshāpūr from them, but it cost him dear. The Saljūqs inflicted a terrible defeat on him at Dandānqān. The Ghaznawids washed their hands of Khurāsān for ever. The Saljūqs had won their struggle

for existence. Now they were rulers and not mere nomads. Toghrīl was declared sultan and the ahl al-ḥall wa 'l-'aql of Nīshāpūr pledged their allegiance to him.

In 447/1055 the khutba was read in Baghdad in the name of Toghrīl and two years later the last Būyid ruler, Malik al-Raḥīm was expelled from the palace of the caliph and imprisoned by Toghrīl. The Būyid dynasty was toppled and replaced by the Saljūqs. The sultan won the title of "Sultān al-Mashriq wa 'l-Maghrib", the Sultan of the East and West, from the caliph.

The period of 56 years during the first three Saljūq sultans, Toghrīl, Alp-Arslan and Malik-Shāh, can be considered the apogee of the Saljūq dynasty. These first three Saljūq rulers coped successfully with all the troublemakers and rival claimants to the throne and united their vast territories under one central authority. Towards the end of sultan Malik-Shāh's reign, Saljūq sway prevailed directly or indirectly over Khurāsān, Sīstān, Kirmān, Khūzistān, al-Jibāl, Fārs, Khwārazm, Transoxiana, Āzarbā ījān, Arrān, Shirwān, al-Jazīra, Iraq, Syria, parts of Asia Minor and even Ḥijāz. Some of Malik-Shāh's amīrs carried Saljūq arms as far as the Yemen and it is clear that Malik-Shāh wanted to bring Egypt and North Africa (al-Maghrib) under his control.

After the death of sultan Malik-Shāh in 485/1092,

however, the signs of decline emerged and the dynasty was weakened by the struggle for power between various members of the Saljūq family.¹¹⁹

First there was a tussle for the throne between Berk-Yaruq and his step-mother Terken Khatun who wanted her four year old son Maḥmūd to become sultan. This struggle was terminated by the death of Terken Khatun and her son in 487/1094. This was not, however, the end of the troubles and Berk-Yaruq had to contend with another half-brother, Muḥammad Tapar, as well as other members of his family. Power oscillated between them until Berk-Yaruq's death in 498/1105 cleared the way for his rival brother to mount the throne. The Saljūq empire once again came under one unanimous sultan, Muḥammad b. Malik-Shāh.

This situation did not, however, last long and immediately after sultan Muḥammad's death in 511/1118 Saljūq territories once again became the arena of ceaseless conflict between his sons Maḥmūd, Toghrīl and Mas'ūd. This phase of conflict came to an end with the death of Maḥmūd in 525/1131 after which the field was left for Maḥmūd's brothers Mas'ūd, Toghrīl and Saljūq-Shāh and his (Maḥmūd's) son Dā'ūd. All but Saljūq-Shāh had the chance to become sultan but only Mas'ūd ruled for any considerable period (i.e. 529-47/1134-1152).

The death of Mas'ūd opened the way for another period of utter chaos and confusion: the struggle for

supremacy between his brother Maḥmūd's two sons, Muḥammad and Malik-Shāh, and their uncle Sulaymān-Shāh. This phase lasted for about ten years (i.e. 547-55/1152-60) and each of them reigned intermittently for short periods.

During this period of instability in the western territories of the Saljūq empire, sultan Sanjar b. Malik-Shāh, however, successfully managed to establish and continue a strong government in the east, i.e. Khurāsān. His reign lasted for almost 62 years (490-552/1097-1157), the longest of any of the Saljūq rulers. After the death of his brother Muḥammad in 511/1118 Sanjar was considered the "supreme sultan" of the Saljūq family.

The continuous disunity and rivalry among the members of the Saljūq family greatly facilitated the task of the Eldigüzid atabegs in assuming power for themselves. The last two Saljūq sultans, Arslan-Shāh b. Toghrīl (556-71/1161-76) and his son Toghrīl (571-90/1176-94), were sultans merely in name and the real power was in the hands of their atabegs.¹²⁰

The period of 160 years in which the Saljūq dynasty rose, flourished and fell, starting from one Toghrīl and ending with another is the subject of our text in which the political and dynastic history of these once steppe nomads and then rulers of vast territories is treated.

With the death of the last Saljūq sultan, Toghrīl,

in 590/1194 in a battle near Rayy with the Khwārazm-Shāh Tekish, the Saljūq dynasty disappeared forever from the scene of Persia and Iraq. In Asia Minor, however, their rule continued until 707/1307.

The Khwārazm-Shāh assigned al-Jibāl to Qutlugh İnanch Maḥmūd b. Pahlawān, who was succeeded after a short reign by his half-brother Abū Bakr (591-607/1195-1210), and then by another half-brother Öz-Beg. These last two rulers had authority over Azarbā'ījān as well as al-Jibāl.

The political situation in Iraq and western Iran during this period was extremely unstable because of the continuous struggle for power and supremacy among the amīrs of atabeg Pahlawān, the father of the last three Eldigüzid rulers.

This chaotic state of affairs made it easier for the Khwārazm-Shāh Jalāl al-Dīn (617-28/1220-30) to do away with the last ruler of the Eldigüzid dynasty at Tabriz in 622/1225. The study of this subject is, however, outside the scope of the present work.

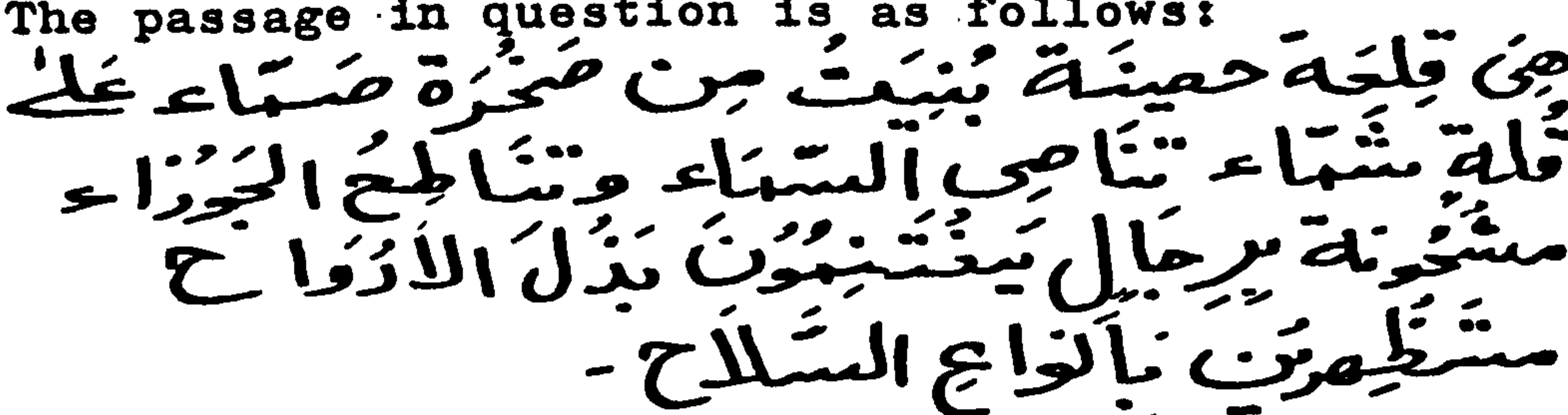
NOTES

1. Stowe, Or.7. See C. Rieu, Supplement to the Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the British Museum (London, 1894), 342-44, under the title Zubdat al-tawārīkh.
2. He was then Professor of Persian in the University of Punjab, Lahore.
3. Süsseim studied the problem in his Prolegomena zu einer Ausgabe der im Britischen Museum zu London Verwahrten Chronik des Seldschungischen Reiches, (Leipzig, 1911).
4. Iqbāl, II. Süsseim finds this information in a reference in 'Umdat al-ṭālib fī ansāb Āl Abī Ṭālib by Jamal al-Dīn Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muhanna. P. 324 of the Lucknow edition, as Iqbāl notes.
5. Iqbāl, V-VI.
6. I.e. al-Amīr al-Sayyid al-Imām al-Ajall al-Kabīr Ṣadr al-Dīn.....b. al-Sayyid al-Ajall al-Imām al-Shahīd.....rahimahu Allāh.
7. Cf. the text, 69, 76, 98. For a note on al-Iṣfahānī see the text, 69.
8. The last event mentioned in our text is the capture of Tabrīz by the Khwārazm-Shāh Jalāl

al-Dīn during the year mentioned above (i.e. 622/1225). See the text, 197.

9. Iqbāl, II.
10. Iqbāl, III. For ^{Ibn} al-Qiftī and his works see Yāqūt, Irshād al-arīb ilā ma'rifat al-adīb, ed. D.S. Margoliouth. (Leiden, London, 1911), V, 477-94, especially pp. 484, 490; ^{Ibn al-Qiftī,} Tārīkh al-ḥukamā', ed. J. Lippert (Leipzig, 1903), p. 10, n.2 (introduction).
11. Iqbāl, III-IV. For Ibn Zāfir and his works see Yāqūt, op. cit., V, 228; EI^{II}, art. Ibn Zāfir, author unknown.
12. Mss. in British Museum, Gotha and photocopy in Cairo (EI^{II}, op. cit.). The section which concerns the Fatimids has now been edited by André Ferré, Akḥbār al-duwal al-munqaṭi'a, (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Sorbonne Nouvelle, 1971).
13. Published in Bulāq, 1278/1861, Cairo, 1316/1898. See EI^{II}, op. cit.
14. Iqbāl, IV.
15. P. 98.
16. P. 124.
17. Iqbāl, IV.
18. See the text, 51, 191.

19. Iqbāl, V.
20. Turkestan, 28, 32.
21. See below, p. 10.
22. The author was in Rayy when Tekish conquered it in 590/1194. See the text, 191.
23. Remarks, 145, n.1.
24. Houtsma, Recueil de Textes Relatifs à l'Histoire des Seldjoucides, I, [i.e., Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, Tārīkh Saljūqiyyān Kirmān], (Leiden, 1886); idem, op. cit., II, [i.e., al-Bundārī, Zubdat al-nuṣra], (Leiden, 1889), XXXV - XXXVII, Turkestan, 28. Cf. section 2, p. 24 below.
25. Historiography, 70-2.
26. Pp. 74-5.
27. See the text, 178.
28. See Hamdānī, 71-2.
29. For details of this author see E.G. Browne, Literary History of Persia, (Cambridge, 1951), II, 477-79; M. Niẓām al-Dīn, Introduction to the Jawāmi' al-ḥikayāt wa lawāmi' al-riwayāt of Sadīd al-Dīn Muḥammad al-'Awfī, (London, 1929), 3-14; EI^{II}, art. 'Awfī, Niẓām al-Dīn.

30. Lubāb al-albāb, ed. E.G. Browne, M. Qazwīnī, (London, 1906), I, 142-44. See also M. Nizām al-Dīn, op. cit., 9-10.
31. For details of this author see EI^{II}, art. Ibn al-‘Adīm, Lewis.
32. See Bughyat al-ṭalab, ed. A. Sevim, (Ankara, 1976), 34-35; Hamdānī, 72.
33. Cf. the text, 29-30.
34. For al-Juwaynī see EI^{II}, art. Djuwaynī, Barthold, Boyle.
35. For this see IA, XI, 210; Historiography, 69-70.
36. The passage in question is as follows:


هِيَ قَلْعَةٌ حَصِينَةٌ بُنِيَتْ مِنْ صَخْرَةٍ صَبَاءَ عَلَى
قُلَّةٍ شَبَّاءَ تَنَاصَى السَّيَاءُ وَتَنَاطَلَحُ الْجُوزَاءُ
مَشْحُونَةٌ بِرِحَالٍ يَغْتَنِبُونَ بِذَلِكَ الْأَرْوَاحَ
مَشْطَرِينَ بِأَنْوَاعِ السَّلَاحِ -

Tarīkh Jāhān Gūsha, ed. M. Qazwīnī, (Leiden, 1916), II, 43-4.

Translation:

It is a strong castle built of solid rock upon a lofty mountain-top, which seizes Heaven by the forelock and butts Orion; and it was crammed with men eager to give their lives and supported by every manner of arms.

Tārīkh Jahān Gūsha, tr. J.A. Boyle, [The History of the World-Conqueror], (Manchester, 1958), I, 312.

37. Ed. J. Fāḍil, (Tehran, n.d.), II, 256.

The Tehran edition has Tārīkh Mubārak-Shāhī instead of Tārīkh Khwārāzm-Shāhī, for which Mubārak seems to be a scribal error. The verses attributed to the person in question and some other information are probably borrowed from 'Awfī, op. cit. See also Hamdānī, 74, who derives his information from a ms. of the work preserved in Istanbul University Library, n. 230, fol. 270.

38. For this author see EI^{II}, art. Kātīb Çelebi, Gokyay.

39. Ed. Sharaf al-Dīn Yaltkaya, Rif'at Bilge, (Istanbul, 1941), I, 294. See also another edition, Lexicon bibliographicum et encyclopaedicum, ed. G. Flügel, (Leipzig, London, 1835-58), II, 129 in Turkestan, 32.

40. Houtsma, (Remarks, 145), Hamdānī, 38, 72 and C. Cahen, (Historiography, 69-70) also seem reluctant to accept Süsseim's view.

41. P. 51.

42. See also Hamdānī, 74; Historiography, 69.

43. Al-Juwaynī, op. cit., ed. M. Qazwīnī, II, 24-5.
44. IA, XII, 108-16; al-Juwaynī, op. cit., 47-51.
45. IA, XII, 149-52; al-Juwaynī, op. cit., 61-6.
46. For the struggle for Khurāsān between the Khwārazm-Shāhs and the Ghūrīd sultans see EI^{II}, arts. Khwārazm-Shāh, Ghūrīds and Khurāsān, Bosworth.
47. See n. 45 above.
48. 'Awfī, op. cit., 143.
49. See above, p. 11.
50. See above, pp. 6-7.
51. See the text, 113.
52. Pp. 93-4.
53. P. 123.
54. Pp. 194-96.
55. Pp. 196-97.
56. Cf. Hamdānī, 76-7.
57. See for instance the text, pp. 22-3, 29-30, 54-5, 64-5, 82, 122, 143, 196.
58. See the text, pp. 47-9, 62, 97-8, 102, 129, 131,

135-36, 172, 176-77, 179-80. The author in a number of places refers to the caliph's palace, dīwān and orders with great respect and uses for them words like sharīfa, 'azīz, 'āliya, which denote esteem.

59. See for instance the text, 97-8 for the hostilities between sultan Maḥmūd and caliph al-Mustarshid, and pp. 130-40 for the hostilities between caliph al-Muqtafi and sultan Muḥammad and Mas'ūd al-Bilālī.

60. See for instance the text, 10, 28, 60-61, 63, 65, 91, 95-6, 148-49, 162-63, 192-93.

61. See the text, 67, 81, 82, 87, 104, 113, 114, 176.

62. **فها وقعت السالك الاعلى دروع مخرقه وحاماً منقله-**

text, p. 11.

63. **عظمت هيئته وكثرت شوكته واتسعت مملكته-**

text, p. 18.

64. **علت معابته في او حامهم ما تفعل بيوفه في اجسامهم-**

text, p. 41.

65. **تكسرت لنصال واحسرت الافاق من تلاطم النجيع المصراق-**

text, p. 141.

66. **لأنها ضمنت ارزاق السور والعقبان او كفلت اقوات الضباع والسرطان-**

text, p. 141.

67. **وما خيفتي من ظهور الوري اذا كان رب الوري قد علم**

text, p. 62.

68. هوامدق من القطا text, 46.
69. ندم ندامة الكسح text, 57.
70. كابي الزناد text, 61.
71. Text, 22, 23.
72. Text, 23-6.
73. Text, 32-4.
74. Text, 60.
75. Text, 70.
76. Text, 73-4.
77. Text, 51.
78. Text, 191-92.
79. See Barhebraeus, The Chronography of Gregory Abu 'l-Faraj, tr. W. Budge, (Oxford, 1932, reprinted Amsterdam, 1976), 195-96; Ibn al-'Adīm, op. cit., 32; Hamdānī, 56-7, 75-6. For a scholarly discussion on Malik-Nāma and the related questions see C. Cahen, "Le Malik-Nameh et l'Histoire des origines Seljukides" Oriens, II (1949), 31-65; Historiography, 71; Ghaznavids, 11-2, 127, 219, 241-44; Iranian World, 17-8.
80. For his life and works see Yāqūt, op. cit., V, 208-18 based on Ibn Funduq's autobiography in

Mashārib. See also EI^{II}, art. al-Bayhaḳī (Zayd b. Funduk), Dunlop.

81. Ed. A. Bahmanyār, (Tehran, 1317/1938).
82. Pp. 23-6.
83. V, 124-26.
84. Cf. Bughyat al-ṭalab, pp. 29-31. See also Hamdānī, 35; Historiography, 63.
85. 47-9.
86. The account covers pp. 34-41, 43-53 of the text.
87. For this author see the text, 68, and the note.
88. For him see the text, 103, and the note.
89. Cf. the text, 69, 76, 98-9 = Bun, 32, 84-5, 155-56. See also below and the notes 90-2.
90. Cf. the text, 22, 23, 53-4, 68, 71-2, 86, 92, 96-7, 104, 106, 111, 118 = Bun, 28, 27, 46-7, 59, 70-1, 258, 264, 132-33, 170, 172, 186, 216-17.
91. See Bun, 2-3; Historiography, 68; Būnyātūf, 8-9.
92. Ed. Houtsma in Recueil de Textes Relatifs a l'Histoire des Seldjoucides, II, (Leiden, 1889).
93. This period roughly covers 52 pages (69-123) in our text and 157 pages (70-1, 82-227, 255-65, including the lengthy accounts of the wazīrs) in

Zubdat al-nuṣra.

94. See also Hamdānī, 76-7; Historiography, 69, 70; Būnyātūf, 11.
95. See above, section 1, p. 7.
96. See the text, 70-1.
97. 126-45.
98. See pp. 131-4.
99. Pp. 135-36.
100. Pp. 145-94.
101. See also Rieu, op. cit., 343; Turkestan, 28-9; Būnyātūf, 13.
102. Hunt, Donat, 6. See H. Ethé, Catalogue of the Persian, Turkish, Hindūstānī and Pushtū Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, part II, (Oxford, 1930), 1170-71.
103. Two such examples are those of Faḍlūn (cf. Akḥbār al-mulūk, fol. 35a = Akḥbār al-dawlat al-Saljūqiyya, pp. 42-3), and the use of the word mawālī for wālī. Cf. Akḥbār al-mulūk, fol. 151a = Akḥbār al-dawlat al-Saljūqiyya, p. 191.
104. Fol. 3a.
105. Houtsma, op. cit., I, pp. IX-X; II, XXXV-XXXVI;

Iqbāl, I, VII; Būnyātūf, 15.

106. The work was published in the Zapiski of the Imperial Russian Archaeological Society, vol. 1, part III (st. Petersburg, 1887), 243-52. See Rieu, op. cit., 343; Iqbāl, I.
107. Iqbāl, VII.
108. See also Būnyātūf, 16.
109. Būnyātūf, 16-7.
110. Houtsma came to know about the manuscript at a later date, but he seems to have had only a cursory glance at it. See Remarks, 145, n.1.
111. Iqbāl, VII.
112. Iqbāl, VII-VIII.
113. The political and dynastic history of the Saljūqs is treated by C.E. Bosworth in The Cambridge History of Iran, V. The Saljuq and Mongol Periods, ed. J.A. Boyle, (Cambridge, 1968), chapter I, pp. 1-202.
114. For instance, the Mazyadids (c.350-545/c.961-1150) in al-Ḥilla and central Iraq, the Marwānids (372-478/983-1085) in Diyārbakr, the 'Uqaylids (c.380-489/c.990-1096) in al-Jazīra, Iraq and northern Syria, the Mirdāsids (414-72/1023-79) in Aleppo

and northern Syria, the Ziyārīds (315-c.483/927-c.1090) in Ṭabaristān and Jurjān (Gurgān), the Būyids (320-454/932-1062) in Persia and Iraq, the Kākūyids (398-443/1008-51) in central and western Persia, the Qarakhānids (382-607/992-1211 in Transoxiana and eastern Turkestan, the Sāmānids (204-395/819-1005) in Khurāsān and Transoxiana and the Ghaznawids (366-582/977-1186) in Khurāsān, Afghanistan and northern India. Dynasties, passim.

115. For the question of the position of the caliph during the Būyid reign see M. Kabīr, The Buwayhid Dynasty of Baghdad, 334/946-447/1055, (Calcutta, (1964), chapter XI, 186-200; A.H. Siddiqi, "Caliphate and Kingship in Medieval Persia", Islamic Culture, IX-XI (1935-37); reproduced in one volume, (Philadelphia, 1977), 33-50.
116. Bayh, 79-80, 291-92; M. Nāẓim, The Life and Times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna, (Cambridge, 1931), 96-9; Ghaznavids, 51-4.
117. For further details see EI^I, art. Seldjuks, Houtsma; O. Pritsak, "The Decline of the Empire of the Oghuz Yabghu", in The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S., II, (New York, 1952), 279-92; reproduced in idem, Studies in Medieval Eurasian History,

(London, 1981), XIX; Ghaznavids, 205-22;
Iranian World, 15-8; S.A. Hasan, "Some
Observations on the Problems Concerning the
Origin of the Saljūqids", Islamic Culture,
XXXIX. (1965), 195-202.

118. Turkestan, 259-60, 297-98; Ghaznavids, 223-25,
Iranian World, 18-9; Hasan, op. cit., 202-4.

119. This period has partly been treated by
M.F. Sanauallah in his Decline of the Saljuqid
Empire, (Calcutta, 1938).

120. This period is the subject of K.A. Luther's work,
The Political Transformation of the Saljuq
Sultanate of Iraq and Western Iran: 1152-1189,
(Princeton, 1964).



TRANSLATION

CHAPTER II

THE RISE AND ZENITH
OF THE SALJŪQ DYNASTY

T.p.1

IN THE NAME OF ALLĀH, THE
COMPASSIONATE, THE MERCIFUL

(f.1b) O [our] Lord, bestow on us Your mercy and guide us in our affairs towards the straight path.

The honourable and great Amīr al-Sayyid Ṣadr al-Dīn Abu'l Ḥasan 'Alī, son of the honourable imām, the martyr, Abu'l Fawāris Nāṣir 'Alī al-Ḥusayn, may the mercy of Allāh be upon him, mentioned in his book which he entitled Zubdat al-tawārīkh stories about the Saljūq amīrs and maliks.

THE REPORT THAT THE FIRST OF THEM (I.E. THE
SALJUQS) WHO ACCEPTED ISLAM WAS AMĪR YUQAQ

(The name) Yuqaq¹ in Turkish means an iron bow. Yuqaq was a perspicacious man who was endowed with good judgement and competence. The king of the Turks had placed the reins of his government in his hands and he was illuminated by the light of his judgement and resourcefulness. The name of the king of the Turks was Yabghu.² It happened one day that he (Yabghu) mobilised his soldiers in order to set out towards the countries of Islam. Amīr Yuqaq stopped him from doing this but the king of the Turks would not listen.³ So Yuqaq behaved very

arrogantly⁴ and slapped the king of the Turks on the face. (So the king gave orders)⁵ that he (Yuqaq) should be seized and put in fetters. So Amīr Yuqaq became more aggressive and was tied up with ropes.....⁶ They left him and took the king to his house (where) T.p.2 he (the king) reposed like a hyena in its den and was confused as to what he should do.⁷ He decided to go to the house of Amīr Yuqaq and become reconciled with him. Yabghu, the king of the Turks kept his stratagem secret (f.2a) to himself until Amīr Yuqaq had died.⁸

When Amīr Saljūq b. Amīr Yuqaq attained full maturity, the king of the Turks appointed him commander in chief of the army and gave him the title of sū-bashī. Sū-bashī in their language means the commander of the army. The wife of the king of the Turks used to frighten her husband about Saljūq b. Yuqaq and prevented him from being so kind and lenient (to him).⁹ She did not keep herself hidden from him (Amīr Saljūq). One day she said to her husband: "Kingship never recognises a relationship¹⁰ nor tolerates a partnership. The drink of kingship will not be pure for you until Saljūq has been killed and the morning light of your reign will not shine until he has been given the cup of death to taste, for Saljūq will soon snatch you from your seat of power and try to kill you." Amīr Saljūq

was present on this occasion and heard her remarks. Amīr Saljūq then rode away, taking his horses and men towards the countries of Islam. He was vouchsafed the bliss of the true monotheistic religion (i.e. Islam).¹¹ He chose the environs of Jand,¹² where he expelled the infidel officials and became powerful. Amīr Saljūq lived for 100 years. One night he had a dream that he was urinating a fire whose sparks cast light in both the eastern and western parts of the earth. He asked the interpreter of dreams who told him that he would give birth to maliks who would rule all over the world.¹³ Amīr Saljūq died in Jand, leaving (his) sons behind him; They were Amīr Mīkā'īl, Amīr Mūsā and Amīr Yabghu¹⁴ Arslan who was called Isrā'īl.¹⁵ These Amīrs lived in a part of Transoxiana called (f.2b) Nūr Bukhārā.¹⁶

Amīr Mīkā'īl b. Saljūq was in the service (?) of sultan Ghāzī Yamīn al-Dawla Abu'l-Qāsim Maḥmūd T.p.3 b. Sebük-Tegin,¹⁷ may Allāh cover him with His forgiveness. It happened that sultan Yamīn al-Dawla crossed the river Oxus on his way to Bukhāra to assist Qadīr Khān.¹⁸ He went through the quarters and tents of this tribe which was known as Qīnīq.¹⁹ He saw how numerous their population was and that they had a lot of cattle. (As) he was afraid of opposition from them and feared that they would harm him, he summoned the chief of this tribe, Amīr Mīkā'īl b. Saljūq and ordered him to take his

family and tribe to the province of Khurāsān.²⁰ But Amīr Mīkā'īl was reluctant to move. This annoyed sultan Yamīn al-Dawla Maḥmūd b. Sebūk-Tegin, who issued an order about him (Mīkā'īl?) and a group of notables of his tribe were arrested and put in fetters.²¹ He (the sultan) ordered that their quarters should be evacuated by force.²² So hājib Arslan²³ said to him: "I think that these people are strong and violent. My opinion is that the thumb of every one of this tribe who crosses the river should be cut, so that they cannot harm us and there need be no fear of their treachery." The sultan said to him: "How can I treat Muslims in this way without any proven offence? Indeed, you are hard-hearted." Sultan Maḥmūd b. Sebūk-Tegin released Amīr Mīkā'īl to them (?) and sent him back (?) (f.3a) to them²⁴ with honour, when they had completed their crossing of the river and they had settled down in Khurāsān. He (Amīr Mīkā'īl ?) then approached the 'amīd²⁵ of Khurāsān, whose name was Abū Sahl²⁶ and presented him with three horse, 10 Bactrian camels and 300 head of sheep. He asked him to let them occupy one of the plains of Khurāsān. So he allowed them to lodge in the plain of Dandānqān²⁷ and they settled down there.²⁸

Sultan Ghāzī Yamīn al-Dawla Abu'l-Qāsim Maḥmūd b. Sebūk-Tegin, may Allāh cover him with His

forgiveness, died in the month of Rabi' II in the year 422.²⁹ He regretted having settled the Saljūqs in his territory because of his fear of them and his reluctance to let them become strong.³¹ When sultan Maḥmūd died, his son Abū Sa'īd Mas'ūd b. Maḥmūd b. Sebūk-Tegin became ruler. He sent an army from Ghazna against them (the Saljūqs). A battle took place between them and they were defeated by him. He captured and killed a great number of them and took captive (?) a great leader of theirs, Amīr Yabghu Arslan, who was called Isrā'īl b. Saljūq. They sent him to Ghazna and interned him in one of the citadels. He died there³² and left behind two sons, one of whom was Qutlumush. Then they (the Saljūqs) appealed for conciliation from him (Mas'ūd) but he did not grant it (to them) and they requested forgiveness from him but he denied it. When they could not redeem their hostage³³ and their (captive) was firmly shut up in prison, they (the Saljūqs) were in despair. Disunity arose among them and even those who could not defend themselves tried to exploit them. The shahna³⁴ of sultan Mas'ūd b. Maḥmūd b. Sebūk-Tegin in Tūs³⁵ (f.3b) came to them by night to drive their animals away.³⁶

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Then Amīr Mīkā'īl died(?) and left behind him from amongst his sons, Amīr Yabghu, Amīr Chagri Beg Dā'ūd and Amīr Toghrīl Beg Muḥammad. All the

tribes of the Turks united under his son Abū Ṭālib Toghrīl Beg Muḥammad who was the eldest of all the sons of his father.

When sultan Mas'ūd b. Maḥmūd b. Sebük-Tegin heard about their great strength and that they had conquered the territories, he marched like the wind³⁸ and reached Nīshāpūr.³⁹ His wazīr⁴⁰ said to him: "Treat the hearts of the Saljūqs gently and lay robes of honour on them and grant them Nasā,⁴¹ its environs, Ribāṭ Farāwa⁴² and places other than those." Sultan Mas'ūd b. Maḥmūd accused him of collusion with the Saljūqs and imprisoned him.⁴³ The sultan organised an army, appointed salār Beg Toghdī, the ḥājib,⁴⁴ as the commander of the army and sent them against the Saljūqs. When they approached them, they (the Saljūqs) turned their backs, left their tents, arms, and property in their quarters and hid in caves and valleys. (But) when
T.p.5 the soldiers of sultan Mas'ūd b. Maḥmūd had seized (the Saljūqs') possessions as booty, they came out of their hiding places, struck them (the soldiers of Mas'ūd) with arrows and stabbed them with spears. The army of the sultan fled towards Nīshāpūr.⁴⁵

Then an envoy from the Amīrs arrived and interceded with the sultan on behalf of the wazīr. The sultan sent qādī al-Ḍabī⁴⁶ to them, who bestowed on them robes of honour and authority (wilāya). He

assigned the province of Dihistān⁴⁷ to Amīr Chaghri Beg Dā'ūd (f.4a) and the province of Farāwa to Yabghu and gave each of them the title "dihqān".⁴⁸ But they (the Saljūqs) disdained the envoy and robes of honour. Toghrīl Beg said to his kātib⁴⁹ (secretary): "Write in your reply to the sultan's letter 'tu'tī' (You give)." He wrote at the end of the letter: "Say: 'O Allāh, Lord of all dominion. You grant dominion unto whom You will, and take away dominion from whom You will; and You exalt whom You will, and abase whom You will. In Your hand, is all good. Verily, You have the power to will anything.'⁵⁰ The people were astonished at his remarks.⁵¹

When the letter was delivered to the sultan, he appointed an amīr as deputy, with 3,000 horsemen in Nīshāpūr in the service of Sūrī⁵² whom he ordered to give them funds from the kharāj of Nīshāpūr and its environs. Then he (the sultan) set out towards Herat on Saturday, the 19th of Dhu'l Qa'da in the year 426. Then he departed to Balkh and gave the office of the amīr of the hājibs to Sü-Bashī.

Sūrī wrote repeatedly to the sultan that the Saljūq amīrs had closed their doors on the revenue collectors and that the sultan was closing his eyes and was not paying any attention to it. Then the sultan sent Sü-Bashī, the chief hājib, to Khurāsān
T.p.6 with 10,000 horsemen and ordered 'amīd Sūrī to

equip his army.⁵³

The sultan himself departed from Balkh towards Ghazna on a Saturday at the beginning of Rajab in the year 427. He celebrated 'Īd al-Adḥā in Ghazna. He assigned authority (wilāya) over India to his son, Amīr Majdūd⁵⁴ and sent his son Mawdūd armed to Balkh and (f.4b) assigned him authority (imāra) over Balkh and Ṭukhāristān.⁵⁵ (f.4b) The sultan departed from Ghazna and settled in Takīnābād⁵⁶ on the fourth day of Muḥarram in the year 428. He assigned the province of Khwārazm⁵⁷ to Shāh Malik of Jand. Then he (Shāh Malik) made for Khwārazm and Ismā'īl b. Khwārazm-Shāh received him. They confronted each other in battle. The conflict between them lasted for two months. Then Ismā'īl ran away and took refuge with the Saljūq Amīrs.⁵⁸

Then 'amīd Abū Sahl al-Ḥamdūnī and Tāsh Farrāsh⁵⁹ went to Iṣfahān along with troops whose number covered the land and spread over its length and width. Malik 'Alā' al-Dawla Abū Ja'far⁶⁰ fled from the troops who plundered his treasure-houses and his palace.⁶¹ Shaykh Abū 'Alī b. Sīna,⁶² may the mercy of Allāh be upon him, was the wazīr of malik 'Alā' al-Dawla. The army of Tāsh Farrāsh plundered the library of Abū 'Alī and transferred most of his works and books to the library in Ghazna. Amongst these books there was a collection (majmū'a) which the servants of Malik al-Jibāl al-

Husayn b. al-Husayn⁶³ set on fire.

THE EQUIPPING OF THE ARMY OF SÜ-BASHĪ
TO WAGE WAR AGAINST THE SALJŪQ AMĪRS

Then the wazīrs and amīrs criticised the sultan
T.p.7 for paying little attention to Khurāsān and minimising
the problem of the Saljūq amīrs, for this (attitude)
encouraged them and increased their desire to take
possession of Ghazna. So the sultan equipped an
army and appointed Sü-Bashī as its commander. He
was (a man) more cowardly than a whistling bird.⁶⁴
So he stayed at Nīshāpūr for some time. The roads
were blocked (f.5a) and the supplies from the
caravans were cut off because of the chaotic state
of the outlying areas and the control of the Saljūq
amīrs over the surrounding regions.

When Amir Chagrī Beg came to know about the
fact that Muslims were suffering from exorbitant
prices, he returned to the desert of Bāward⁶⁵
(Abīward) and changed a straitened standard of
living to one of prosperity and lower prices.

Sultan Mas'ūd b. Maḥmūd b. Sebūk-Tegin intended
to set out towards Khurāsān, but the dearth of
fodder stopped him from doing so. So he stayed
at Bust⁶⁶ and Takīnābād during the winter season.

Sü-Bashī took refuge in Herat. Then Amīr
Chaghrī Beg attacked Marw⁶⁷ unexpectedly and stayed

there. Sü-Bashī hurriedly advanced towards him with a large army in three days. Amīr Chaghri Beg fled from him and made for Azkā (Azjā)⁶⁸ and Shāwshakān.⁶⁹ The amīr of Jūzjānān⁷⁰ attacked him but Amīr Chaghri Beg routed him and scattered his army. They found the amīr of Juzjānān dead after the defeat. When this news reached Sü Bashī he could not sleep and the situation became difficult for him.⁷¹ Saljūq soldiers penetrated the outlying regions of Khurāsān.

Sūrī continued to write to the sultan seeking his assistance. So the sultan wrote to Sü-Bashī: "I have put the province of Khurāsān in your charge to drive the bird away from its palm-tree and the bee from its apiary. So make a wālī's trip round Khurāsān until your subjects surrender to you like a mangy animal surrenders to one who dresses its (wounds)." So Sü-Bashī passed through Nīshāpūr, but he did not find any provisions there for a day and a night. So he returned to Dihistān⁷² and left behind (f.5b) a certain person in Nīshāpūr who was called hājib Pāk-rūb.⁷³ He was the one who swept Khurāsān clean with the broom of his confiscations and did not leave anyone with even a tenth portion of the crop. Then Sü-Bashī wrote to the sultan: "Now to our topic: The Saljūq Amīrs are people whose swords are (their) tongues and whose mouths are (like) mountain-tops. By means of these sharp and cutting swords, they have penetrated the

T.p.8

hiding-places and thickets of the world. Wine-drinking and (listening to) music and songs have distracted you from cutting their nails when they began their activities. (Now) this empire (dawla) has become senile and there is no cure for anyone whom senility has afflicted. Your advisors gave you false reports until people wished to turn a deaf ear in your presence. Evil starts from a small amount and the outward appearance of a horse bespeaks his inner worth.⁷⁴ A man who is fond of decanting wine-jars and of the chantings of singing-women cannot be successful in ruling. The Saljūqs are people who are long accustomed to war.⁷⁵ They were previously underlings in our countries. Indeed Qārūn came from the people of Mūsā, blessings of Allāh be upon him (Mūsā). But he (Qārūn) rebelled against him. They (the Saljūqs) are utterly destitute (? mutaṣa'likūn) despite the vastness of their territories. They do not care whether they die or perish. Access to their routes with swords and arrows is difficult. They have horsemen who⁷⁶ do not fear death (?), as if they are not human beings." When the sultan read Sü-Bashī's letter, he was astonished and perturbed.

Then the faqīhs of Marw sought asylum from the Saljūqs. They accepted the requests of the faqīhs by complying with their wishes and extended to them the wings of justice and fairness. Toghrīl

Beg chose Nīshāpūr and Chagrī Beg Dā'ūd chose Marw and (the lands) beyond the mountain-road. (f.6a)

So they (the faqīhs) read the khūṭba in the name of Chagrī Beg at Marw on the first Friday of Rajab in the year 428.

When the spring came, Sü-Bashī rode out
T.p.9 towards Marw. (When) malik Chagrī Beg entered Marw, he assembled its inhabitants and asked them what they wanted and what their opinion was. So everyone told him what he wanted to hear assuring (him of their) obedience and love. So he came out of Marw and both armies met each other at the gate of Sarakhs.⁷⁷ It was before the rising of the rays of the sun that Sü-Bashī was routed on Monday, 6th Sha'bān in the year 428. Sü-Bashī took refuge in Herat. Malik Chagrī Beg Dā'ūd followed his tracks until the Wednesday and then returned to Tūs in triumph. The notables of Nīshāpūr received him and he rested there for a short time. He gave Toghrīl Beg the laqab of Sulṭān al-Mu'azzam Rukn al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn Abū Tālib.⁷⁸ Then malik Chagrī Beg set out towards Herat and defeated Sü-Bashī.

When he (Sü-Bashī) reached Ghazna, the sultan subjected him to punishment and humiliated him by preventing him from being in his presence. He (the sultan) said (to him): "You have destroyed the army and have rendered the pure drink muddy in three years, so that the routes of the country have

been made accessible to the enemies of the mighty empire (dawla).\" So Sü-Bashī replied (to the sultan): \"How can a physician make an old man into a young one again and how can a traveller change a mirage into drinking water. Every empire enjoys respect and after every brightness there is darkness. Every age has a nation and every era has a king. I am someone whom you appointed as commander of the army between a lurking lion and a swelling sea. If I had made for the lion, he would have torn me apart and if I had crossed the sea, I would have drowned in it. Behind me there were the embers of your anger; whenever I retreated, they burnt me. (f.6b) O' sultan! You have passed through times of hardship and easiness and when the empire came to you, you attempted (to gain) some of the countries, and you gained all of them.\"

At this point the sultan mobilised his troops with which if he had attacked the strongest army, it would have been wiped out⁷⁹ and with which if T.p.10 he had frightened the vicissitudes of time, they would have fled. He had with him 100 elephants which were like high and lofty mountains. He opened up his treasures and gave his soldiers a great amount of wealth. (Then) he came to the town of Balkh, shut the gates and made preparations. Malik Chaghri Beg Dā'ūd (also) made for the town of Balkh and the sultan was besieged in Balkh. He

(Chaghrī Beg) attacked the army of Ghazna like a predatory eagle and entered the town of Balkh one day with a party of his ghulāms and horsemen at a time when its inhabitants were unprepared. He drove away the biggest elephant which was (standing) at the gate of the sultan's (palace) along with (the small ones) beside it. The sultan became so worried that he was robbed of his sleep. Whenever the sultan left the town (of Balkh), malik Chaghrī Beg, Yabghu and his troops would move towards it and when the sultan entered the town, Chaghrī Beg and his army would besiege it. The sultan remained in this state of affairs for two whole years. Then the sultan left Balkh at the beginning of Ramadān in the year 429 in the company of 100,000 horsemen excluding (his) train and the rabble. He passed through Jūzjānān (where) he seized the wālī who had been appointed on behalf of the Saljūqs. He (the sultan) crucified him (the wālī) and won over the hearts of the inhabitants.⁸⁰ Malik Chaghrī Beg followed his tracks until the sultan reached the town of Marw. Malik (f.7a) Chaghrī Beg encamped at Shink al-‘Abbādī.⁸¹ So the sultan came out to meet him, but malik Chaghrī Beg retreated to Sarakhs. Sultan Toghrīl and Yabghu (also) joined him (there). Then the sultan sent them envoys on his behalf requesting them to make peace with him.⁸² So Amīr Yabghu came to the presence of the sultan who

bestowed upon him robes of honour which were dazzling to the eyes. (But) sultan Toghrīl said to malik Chaghri Beg: "Today no peace nor apology

T.p.11 can be facilitated with the sultan after blood has been shed and hatred is so deep-rooted in the hearts (of men). We have horsemen for whom the lands are small and the sultan has an army whose safety lies in running away."

Then the sultan returned to Herat and malik Chaghri Beg returned to the road to Marw. The rabble of Marw fought against him and shut the gates to him for seven months. But malik Chaghri Beg (managed) to enter (the town) and the faces of the inhabitants of Marw turned pale. Their strength crumbled⁸³ and they turned their backs to the right and to the left in flight. They realised that the empire of Mas'ūd was at an end.

When this news reached sultan Mas'ūd b. Maḥmūd b. Sebük-Tegin's ear, evil was kindled in his heart. He returned from Herat and set out towards Nīshāpūr. So sultan Toghrīl fled from Nīshāpūr and malik Chaghri Beg laid waste the surroundings of Marw and its villages.

When sultan Mas'ūd had arrived in Sarakhs from Nīshāpūr he had a dream one night that smoke was coming from his eyes and that they were bleeding. When he woke up from his sleep during the night, he started crying and despaired of his life and

kingdom. He realised that (his) empire had forsaken him and that his dreams had abandoned him. Then sultan Mas'ūd b. Mahmūd b. Sebük-Tegin set out towards Marw and both armies met each other at the gate of Dandānqān. The sultan thought that malik Chaghrī Beg could not hold his ground against him. But when malik Chaghrī Beg stood firm, the sultan repented of entangling (himself) in such a difficult situation. Disunity broke out amongst the troops of the sultan and they started killing each other and looting their property. When malik Chaghrī Beg saw this state of affairs, he attacked them while they were still quarrelling and were engaged in dispute with one another. So the edges of the swords (of Chaghrī Beg's army) fell on coats of mail which were (already) broken and on heads which were (already) fractured. The sultan and his troops turned their backs in flight and he followed the road to Rūdhbār⁸⁴ with 100 horsemen. A search for him was carried out until one of the horsemen of malik Chaghrī Beg almost reached him. But the sultan struck him a blow which cut him into two pieces. Then he threw him onto the road, so that whoever from the army of Chaghrī Beg saw him would go away and give up following the tracks of the sultan.

Malik Chaghrī Beg and his troops waited for three days on horseback in their positions. And

when the calamities of (this) revolution (inqilāb) had passed, he (Chaghrī Beg) entered the tent of sultan Mas'ūd b. Maḥmūd b. Sebūk-Tegin and sat down on his throne. He shared out the booty among his army and donated the kharāj of one year in his domains (wilāyas). (Moreover) he built villages and set prisoners free. The sultan moved to Ghazna.

The battle at the gate of Dandānqān took place on Thursday, the 8th day of Ramaḍān in the year (f.8a) 431.⁸⁵

When the sultan arrived in Ghazna, he made his son Mawdūd his heir-apparent. The wālī of Balkh was Altun-Taq, the hājib.

THE ACCOUNT OF WHAT HAPPENED BETWEEN
MALIK CHAGHRĪ BEG AND SULTAN MAWDŪD
B. MAS'ŪD B. MAHMŪD B. SEBŪK-TEGIN

Then malik Chaghrī Beg set out towards Balkh and wrote (a letter) to Altun-Taq and said (to him): "There is no hope left for you in Ghazna and there is no arrow (left) in the quiver⁸⁶ of your master. So adjust yourself to whatever direction time may take, and go with the help of Allāh wherever it goes." But Altun-Taq paid no heed to the messenger and the letter. (Instead) he ordered the messenger to be put in prison. So malik Chaghrī Beg pitched (his) tents around Balkh and a fierce battle ensued

between them. Sultan Mawdūd marched from Ghazna towards Balkh in a company of numerous troops. The vanguards of Chaghrī Beg fell on the vanguards of sultan Mawdūd and the entire army of Ghazna was
T.p.13 routed. Altun-Taq, the hājib was left with no other option but to surrender and he became one of the followers of (Chaghrī Beg).⁸⁷ Malik Chaghrī Beg entered the town of Balkh.⁸⁸

THE ACCOUNT OF THE MURDER OF SULTAN
MAS'UD B. MAHMUD B. SEBÜK-TEGIN

When sultan Mawdūd set out towards Balkh on the orders of his father accompanied by wazīr Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Ṣamad⁸⁹ on Tuesday, the 12th of Muḥarrām in the year 432, sultan Mas'ūd set free his brother Muḥammad, whose eye he had gouged out,⁹⁰ from the citadel of Naghar⁹¹ along with his sons, wives and slave-girls. This was on Sunday, at the beginning of Ṣafar in the year 432. Muḥammad had an insane son, called Aḥmad. He had some other sons; among them were 'Abd al-Raḥīm, 'Abd al-Raḥmān, 'Umar and 'Uthmān. Then sultan Mas'ūd bestowed robes of honour upon his nephews and sought his brother's pardon. So Muḥammad said to him: "You are great and the leader and head of the people."⁹² He (Muḥammad) made his heart happy with such false words (hoping) that perhaps he (Mas'ūd) would calm

down and fulfil some of what he had said. So sultan Mas'ūd carried him in a palanquin in the company of free maids.

He (sultan Mas'ūd) collected up the riches from (his) treasure-houses and the citadels and set out towards the territories of India taking with him a hoard of 3,000 Nīshāpūrī, Herātī, Maghribī and Maḥmūdī coins, different kinds of (golden and silver) plates, jewels, instruments
T.p.14 of slaughter(?)⁹³ vessels and other things until he reached Marīkala (Margala)⁹⁴. The ghulāms coveted those treasures and agreed unanimously upon Muḥammad on the 13th night of Rabi' II in the year 432. Muḥammad ascended the throne⁹⁵ of the kingdom and made his insane son Aḥmad his deputy. The two parties met each other on Tuesday in mid Rabi' II. Sultan Mas'ūd was captured and imprisoned. Then his insane nephew went in to see him and took his cap from his head. But his brother 'Abd al-Raḥīm scolded him, took the cap from him, kissed it and then (f.9a) put it back on his uncle's head. Thus he was saved from death. Sultan Mas'ūd was sent accompanied by his wife Sāra Khatun, the daughter of Qadīr Khān, to a citadel in the surrounding areas which was called Gīrī.⁹⁶ Then Muḥammad made up his mind to kill his brother and incited his insane son to carry this out. They dumped him (Mas'ūd) in a well which they covered with querns.⁹⁷

Sultan Mawdūd b. Mas'ūd returned towards Ghazna. Sultan Muḥammad left his place and set out with his troops; most of whom were slave-girls, ghulāms and old men. When the two parties saw each other, flags of triumph were waved for sultan Mawdūd. Muḥammad and all his sons except 'Abd al-Raḥīm were slain. This took place on Thursday, the 3rd of Sha'bān in the year 432. Sultan Mawdūd built a village and ribāṭ and named it Fathābād.⁹⁸ Then he moved to Ghazna.⁹⁹

The reign of sultan Mas'ūd b. Maḥmūd b. Sebük-Tegin until the day of his murder lasted for 10 years, 2 months and 2 days.¹⁰⁰ His son's Mawdūd's reign lasted for 7 years and 10 months.¹⁰¹

T.p.15 When sultan Mawdūd passed away, sultan 'Abd al-Rashīd took his place. He was an autocratic young man. The sultans of Ghazna had a Turkish ghulām whose name was Toghrīl N.ZAN.¹⁰² He deserted them and took refuge with the Saljūq maliks. So they (the Saljūqs) despatched (f.9b) troops of Turkish (soldiers) with him whom sultan 'Abd al-Rashīd could not withstand. He fled and took refuge in one of his citadels. Toghrīl N.ZAN assumed supreme power over the (different) bases of the sultanate and dominion and usurped the throne of the kingdom. He took a splendid free maid as his wife from amongst those of sultan Mas'ūd by force and against her will. He (then) brought down sultan 'Abd al-

Rashīd from the citadel and killed him¹⁰³ and his
¹⁰⁴
brothers (?) Sulaymān and Shujā', the sons of
Mas'ūd, with his own hands. He killed nine groups
of the sons of Mas'ūd with his own hands in one
night.¹⁰⁵

Sultan Mas'ūd had a ghulām called Nūsh-Tegin.¹⁰⁶
He fulfilled (his) obligation to his master. He
came one day before this rebellious and accursed
Toghrīl N.ZAN and (while) standing at his head, he
himself killed him as well as 10 of his close
associates. Then he brought down Farrukh-Zād b.
sultan Mas'ūd from the citadel and installed him
on the throne of the kingdom. This took place
during Dhu'l-Qa'da in the year 443.

From the rise of Toghrīl N.ZAN in the year 432 (?)
until his death in 443,¹⁰⁷ he held sway over Ghazna
and its surroundings on behalf of the Saljūq maliks.
He collected the kharāj of the territories for them
and sent them what was left over from the expenses
of his troops.

Farrukh-Zād was blessed with (the qualities)
of wisdom and justice and embellished with (the
quality of) generosity.

During the reign of Farrukh-Zād a Saljūq army
encamped (f.10a) on the borders of Bust. Nūsh-
Tegin, the murderer of Toghrīl N.ZAN set out towards
them and put the Saljūq army to flight.¹⁰⁸ Farrukh-
Zād remained in power until Saturday, the 16th of

Ṣafar in the year 451.¹⁰⁹

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After Farrukh-Zād, his brother Ibrāhīm b. sultan Mas'ūd assumed power. He was a wise, sagacious and perspicacious man. He had many victories in India to his credit and his traces were well-known in its lands.

One example of his wisdom was the occasion (when) the Sultān al-A'zam Jalāl al-Dawla Malik-Shāh b. Alp-Arslan set out towards Ghazna and encamped at Isfizār,¹¹⁰ Sultan Ibrāhīm wrote (a letter) to the amīrs of sultan Jalāl al-Dawla Malik-Shāh b. Alp-Arslan, thanked them for their endeavours and said (to them): "What you have done is excellent. You have persuaded the sultan to set out towards us and agreed to hand him over to us. We will not deprive you of your rights and will not remain heedless of your positions and ranks." He instructed the messenger to appear before the sultan in the hunting ground. The messenger passed by him and he (Malik-Shāh) gave orders for him to be seized and questioned about the letters. But he denied (having any). So he (Malik-Shāh) ordered him to be lashed. (Upon this) he gave the letters to the sultan. (Having read the letters) the sultan thought that his amīrs and his servants had betrayed him. He released the messenger and did not show the letters to anyone and returned to Iṣfahān.¹¹¹

The son of sultan Ibrāhīm, whose name was Mas'ūd, had married the daughter of sultan Alp-Arslan. Then (f.10b) the daughter of the Sultān al-A'zam Jalāl al-Dawla Malik-Shāh b. Alp-Arslan b. Dā'ūd b. Mīkā'il, the Saljūq (whose name) was Jawhar Khatun was married to (Ibrāhīm's) other son. The bridal-money (mahr) was brought from Ghazna to Isfahān. This lady was given the laqab of the Mahd al-'Irāq in Ghazna.¹¹²

The reign of sultan Ḥāzīr al-Dawla Abu'l-Muẓaffar Ibrāhīm b. sultan Nāṣir dīn Allāh Abū Sa'īd Mas'ūd b. sultan Ghāzī Yamīn al-Dawla Abu'l-Qāsim b. Maḥmūd b. Sebük-Tegin¹¹³ lasted for 30 years.¹¹⁴ When he passed away, his son

T.p.17 sultan Ghāzī 'Alā al-Dawla Abu'l-Muẓaffar Mas'ūd ascended the throne of the kingdom. He continued (to rule along) the same lines set up by his father and followed in his footsteps. His reign lasted from 481 to 511¹¹⁵ and his account will follow after this.¹¹⁶

When Khurāsān was freed from the army of the Ghaznawids (Sebük-Teginiyya)¹¹⁷ and the Saljūq maliks became established (there), malik Chaghri Beg stayed at Marw and the whole of Khurāsān fell to him. Sultan Toghril left Khurāsān for Iraq when the imām al-Qā'im bi amr Allāh invited him (there).¹¹⁸ Then he captured most of the territories. They (then)

shared out their domains. He (Toghrīl) allotted to Chaghri Beg Dā'ūd b. Mīkā'īl b. Saljūq, (the lands) from Nīshāpūr as far as the (river) Oxus and as much as he could conquer beyond the river. So he conquered Khwārazm (f.11a), Bukhārā and Balkh. (He allotted) Qūhistān¹¹⁹ and Jurjān (Gūrgān)¹²⁰ to Ibrāhīm b. Īnal,¹²¹ who was his maternal brother. And Herat, Būshanj (Pūshang),¹²² Sijistān (Sīstān)¹²³ and the lands of Ghūr¹²⁴ to Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan b. Mūsā b. Saljūq. All this took place in 430.¹²⁵ In the same year, sultan Toghrīl took possession of Iraq¹²⁶ and sent Shihāb al-Dawla Qutlumush b. Isrā'īl b. Saljūq towards the mountains of Armenia and Āzarbāījān. So he conquered them.¹²⁷ He (also) wrested Mosul from the possession of the Amīr al-'Arab Quraysh b. Badrān b. al-Muqallad b. al-Musayyab al-'Uqaylī¹²⁸ and all its neighbouring territories in the regions of Diyār Muḍar.¹²⁹

In the year 448, the commander of the Faithful al-Qā'im bi amr Allāh married the daughter of malik Dā'ūd b. Mīkā'īl b. Saljūq¹³⁰ with bridal-money (ṣadāq) of 100,000 dīnārs. The caliph bestowed upon sultan Toghrīl seven robes of honour, adorned him with a necklace and tied bracelets (round his wrist). He wrote him a diploma (giving him authority) over everything apart from himself. He addressed him as "the Sultan of the East and West". So fear of him grew, his dignity increased and his territories became

more extensive.¹³¹

THE CONFLICT BETWEEN THE COMMANDER
OF THE FAITHFUL AL-QĀ'IM BI AMR ALLĀH
AND ARSLAN AL-BASĀSĪRĪ AND THE SETTING
OUT OF SULTAN RUKN AL-DĪN ABŪ ṬĀLIB
TOGHRĪL BEG B. DĀ'ŪD (? SIC) B. MĪKĀ'ĪL
B. SALJŪQ TOWARDS BAGHDAD.

Abu'l-Ḥārith b. Arslan al-Basāsīrī¹³² was the commander of the Turks during the days of caliph al-Qā'im bi amr Allāh (f.11b). Basāsīr was a town in the regions of Fārs.¹³³ Al-Basāsīrī used to address the amīr al-Qā'im bi amr Allāh in an imperious manner, he did not observe the sanctity of (his office) and he subjected him to various indignities.¹³⁴ So the commander of the Faithful, al-Qā'im bi amr Allāh complained to sultan Toghrīl. He set out from Khurāsān on Wednesday, 14th of Dhu'l-Ḥijja in the year 449 with a massive army amidst great splendour. When he reached the confines of Baghdad, al-Basāsīrī fled, crossed the interiors of the deserts¹³⁵ and halted at Raḥba¹³⁶ which is in Syrian territory. Al-Mustanṣir,¹³⁷ the lord of Egypt, sent him robes of honour and presents. Malik al-Raḥīm Abū Naṣr, the grandson of Aḍud al-Dawla of the Būyid family¹³⁸ was (also) with al-

T.p.19 Basāsīrī. But al-Basāsīrī betrayed him and broke

away from him. Sultan Toghrīl Beg reached Baghdad on 25th Ṣafar in the year 450 and seized Malik al-Raḥīm, sent him to Rayy¹³⁹ and imprisoned him in the citadel of Ṭabarak¹⁴⁰ until he died there. The rule of the Būyids came to an end. Their reign had lasted for 127 years.

Sultan Toghrīl Beg followed the tracks of al-Basāsīrī and left Baghdad on 25th Rajab in the year 450. When he reached Naṣībīn,¹⁴¹ his maternal brother Ibrāhīm b. Īnal parted from him and returned to Iraq. He had with him soldiers (f.12a) who were like lurking lions. The sultan left Naṣībīn (and) followed his tracks. When sultan Toghrīl reached Hamadān, Ibrāhīm grew stronger and his position became more powerful. Sultan Toghrīl was besieged in Hamadān and the troops agreed upon Ibrāhīm. Sultan Alp-Arslan was in Sijistān (Sīstān) when a letter of his uncle sultan Toghrīl reached him (in which) he (Toghrīl) said (to him): "My brother has attempted to wrest my share from me and has endeavoured to spread mischief in my territories. I can do nothing without your support and help." So sultan Alp-Arslan set out from Sijistān to the territories of Iraq within 10 days by way of the Great Desert (Mafāza)¹⁴² and reached the presence of sultan Toghrīl. The next day, on the 19th of Jumādā II in the year 451, they equipped their troops and sultan Alp-Arslan having seized Ibrāhīm

b. Īnal at midday, took him as captive to the throne of his uncle Toghrīl. Sultan Alp-Arslan returned to Khurāsān unhurt and laden with booty. Ibrāhīm b. Īnal was put to death on Wednesday, the 19th of Jumādā II in the year 451.

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When al-Basāsīrī heard about the rift which had taken place between sultan Toghrīl and his maternal brother Ibrāhīm b. Īnal, he returned to Baghdad, having with him Quraysh b. Badrān (f. 12b) b. al-Muqallad b. al-Musayyab al-‘Uqaylī whose laqab was ‘Alam al-Dīn Sultān al-‘Arab. They both entered Baghdad on a Saturday in the middle of Shawwāl in the year 450. Baghdad was devoid of troops, so the populace of Baghdad fought against them. The commander of the Faithful al-Qā’im bi amr Allāh was riding his grey mule in the courtyard of his palace and had in his company his wazīr Ra’īs al-Ru’asā’¹⁴³. Quraysh b. Badrān knocked on the gate (of the palace) with his cudgel and said to the commander of the Faithful: "Come out, O holy man! Do not destroy yourself. You are under protection." He did not address him as the commander of the Faithful. So al-Qā’im rode out and amīr Muhārish¹⁴⁴ al-‘Uqaylī took him to the citadel of al-Ḥadītha.¹⁴⁵ The wazīr was taken on a donkey and a Jew rode behind him. The Jew slapped him, plucked out his beard and said (to him): O lord: "Sign this order (?)."¹⁴⁶ Then the wazīr was crucified. They

read the khutba in Baghdad in the name of al-Mustansir bi Allāh al-‘Ubaydī, the lord of Egypt, on Friday the 21st of Shawwāl in the year 450, they took off the black clothes and put on the white ones and minted dīnārs with his laqabs (on them). This sedition (fitna) lasted in Baghdad until Shawwāl of the year 451. But when Ibrāhīm b. Īnal was put to death, sultan Toghrīl set out towards Baghdad and wrote (a letter) to ‘Alam al-Dīn Quraysh b. Badrān and put pressure on him to return the commander of the Faithful, al-Qā’im bi amr Allāh to the seat of the caliphate (Dār al-Khilāfa). So al-Qā’im bi amr Allāh arrived (f.13a) in the Madīnat al-Salām (Baghdad) on Monday, the 11th of Dhu’l-Qa’da in the year 451. Sultan Toghrīl received him accompanied by his troops. When his (Toghrīl’s) eyes fell on the pavilion (of al-Qā’im) he threw himself down from his horse, went in and kissed the ground seven times. The caliph fetched a cushion and offered it to the sultan, who took it (from him), kissed it and then sat on it. The caliph took out from his gown¹⁴⁷(?) the red ruby which had belonged to the Būyids and a set of 12 precious pearls, put them in the sultan’s hand and told him that these were (a gift) from Khadīja Khatun, the wife of the caliph. He (the caliph) asked (the sultan) to accept them. The sultan apologised for his delay in coming to his (rescue).

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After this the caliph went towards Baghdad and entered the city while the army had surrounded him (from all sides). Then the sultan dismounted and carried the saddle-cloth (ghāshiya) as far as the caliphal palace. All the great amīrs (also) dismounted. Then he (the sultan) took the reins of the mule of the caliph (in his hands) and walked before him while still holding them until he entered the door of the apartment (of the caliph, bāb al-ḥujra).¹⁴⁸ This took place in the last five days of Dhu'l-Qa'da.

The departure of the caliph from his palace had taken place at this time. His period of absence from Baghdad lasted a full year. (Now) the foundations of the caliphate became firmly established. Then the sultan rode out and quickened his pace in search of al-Basāsīrī. He captured him and put him to death. He carried his head to Baghdad (where) it was hung on the same beam on which the wazīr of the caliph had been crucified.¹⁴⁹

(f.13b) All the (Bedouin) Arab amīrs came to the presence of the sultan declaring their obedience (to him). The sultan married the daughter of the commander of the Faithful al-Qā'im bi amr Allāh on the basis of bridal-money (ṣadāq) of 100,000 dīnārs. The wedding ceremony (zifāf) was held on a Monday night, the 15th of Ṣafar in the year 455 in

Khurāsān.¹⁵⁰ The sultan (had) returned from Baghdad on 5th Rabi' II in the year 452.

Sulṭān al-A'ẓam Rukn al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn Abū

T.p.22 Ṭālib Toghrīl b. Mīkā'il b. Saljūq, may the mercy of Allāh be upon him, died on Friday, the 8th of the month of Ramaḍān in the year 455. His life spanned 70 years.

It was related on the authority of the wazīr 'Amīd al-Mulk Abū Naṣr al-Kundurī¹⁵¹ that he said: "I asked (the sultan) about the year in which he was born. So he said: 'The year in which a certain khān attacked Transoxiana.' So when he (the sultan) died, I counted the length of the period and it came to a full 70 years."

It was reported on the authority of qāḍī Abū Bakr al-Nīshāpūrī (that) he said: "'Amīd al-Mulk al-Kundurī told me (al-Nīshāpūrī) that the sultan said to me (al-Kundurī): 'I had a dream in Khurāsān at the beginning of my reign (in which I felt) as if I had been lifted up into the sky, surrounded by a mist, not seeing anything but sensing a pleasant smell as if somebody was calling me saying: "Wish and that will be granted." So I replied that nothing was dearer to me than a long life. So I was told: "Your life span is 70 years."'"

He died on the day which we have mentioned. The sultanate came into his hands in the year 430 (f.14a). So his reign lasted for 24 years and a

few months. He was buried at Marw¹⁵³ beside the grave of his brother malik Chaghrī Beg Dā'ūd b. Mīkā'il b. Saljūq.

THE ACCOUNT OF THE CHARACTER OF SULTAN RUKN
AL-DĪN ABŪ ṬĀLIB TOGHRĪL B. MĪKĀ'IL B. SALJŪQ

He was a courageous, gentle and benevolent man. He observed obedience (to Allāh), corporate prayer, fasting on Mondays and Thursdays, and tried hard to behave decently. He used to wear wādhārī¹⁵⁴ and white clothes. His life resembled the merits of Paradise. He did not contemplate killing, did not shed blood and did not transgress sacred things (maḥram). He was very tolerant and careful in what he said. He was very charitable and eager to build mosques. He used to say: "I feel ashamed before Allāh, the Almighty, to build a palace (for myself) and not have a mosque beside it."¹⁵⁵

T.p.23

The wazīr 'Amīd al-Mulk al-Kundurī related that when he (the sultan) fell ill, he said (to him): "When I am ill, I am like a ram whose legs are fastened, so that its wool may be shorn, but which thinks that it is going to be slaughtered; so it is distraught until it is released and then it is happy. Then its legs are fastened to be slaughtered and it thinks that its wool is to be shorn; so it remains calm and it is slaughtered.

This illness has fastened (my) legs to be slaughtered."¹⁵⁶

Sultan Toghrīl had no offspring. His heir-apparent was his nephew, sultan Alp-Arslan b. Dā'ūd b. Mīkā'il b. Saljūq.

THE ACCOUNT OF THE WAZĪR (f.14b)

'AMĪD AL-MULK ABŪ NAṢR AL-KUNDURĪ

He was one of the descendants of the dihqāns of Kundur.¹⁵⁸ He studied at Nīshāpūr. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan al-Bākharzī¹⁵⁹ was his associate in the circle of the imām al-Muwaffaq al-Nīshāpūrī.¹⁶⁰ Then Abū Naṣr al-Kundurī rose to the office of wazīr.¹⁶¹ Previously his post had been that of the ḥājib al-bāb.¹⁶²

During the reign of sultan Toghrīl he was a powerful wazīr. (Once) shaykh 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan al-Bākharzī visited him while he (al-Kundurī) was in Baghdad during the early days of his office as wazīr in the dīwān of the sultan. When the wazīr saw him (al-Bākharzī) he said (to him): "Are you the author (of the poem) aqbala?"¹⁶³ He said (to him): "Yes." So the wazīr said to him: "Hello
T.p.24 and welcome. I have drawn a good omen from your poem of aqbala. Then he bestowed a robe of honour on him before he recited some poetry (to him) and said to him: "Come back tomorrow and recite."

So he came back on the second day and recited the following qaṣīda.

"Their dwellings (maghānī) on the bank of the valley became ruins. So I was left for dead whilst the (inhabitants of the) valley went far away.¹⁶⁴

The charm of his face deceived his enemies and their hearts' desires were fulfilled.¹⁶⁵

But in fact, they should not have been misled by the radiance of his face, as anger lies behind the lion's smile."

When he finished his recitation (of the qaṣīda) the wazīr said to the Arab amīrs: "We have people like him in Persia. Do you have (anyone) like him amongst the Arabs." He (the wazīr) ordered him to be paid 1,000 dīnārs.

Sultān al-A'ẓam Aḍud al-Dawla Alp-Arslan b. Dā'ūd b. Saljūq dispatched him and commissioned him to obtain the hand of the daughter of Khwārazm-Shāh in marriage for the sultan.¹⁶⁶ False rumours went around and it was said (f.15a) to the sultan that the wazīr 'Amīd al-Mulk had obtained her hand in marriage for himself and that he had been treacherous. So the attitude of the sultan changed towards him. 'Amīd al-Mulk shaved off his beard and castrated himself. Thus he escaped the punishment of the sultan. Shaykh 'Alī b.

al-Ḥasan al-Bākharzī eulogised him about this loss when he wrote:

"People said: 'In your absence the sultan removed the sign of virility from him whereas (before) he was like a wild stallion.'

But I said to them: 'Keep quiet, for now (his) virility has increased since he has been stripped of his two testicles.'

A stallion does not like a part of him to be called feminine. That is why he made efforts to uproot it."

T.p.25

When the office of wazīr was given to Nizām al-Mulk Qawām al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Ishāq al-Ṭūsī, the wazīr 'Amīd al-Mulk was removed from his office and imprisoned. During his captivity he recited (as follows):

"Death is bitter, but when my soul is thirsty for honour, I deem it proper to drink it.

The thoughts of the office of wazīr have occupied my mind to an excessive degree.¹⁶⁸

It (the office) whirls round in it and I am afraid lest it (my mind) is caught up with it."

He also recited (as follows):

"If people find it difficult to compete with me, death has widened

the world for them.

I have gone away and the malicious one, (who is going to be) buried (? maqbur), will follow me. Everyone has to sip and drink the cup of death."

Wazir 'Amīd al-Mulk was imprisoned in Nīshāpūr in the palace of the 'amid of Khurāsān. Then he was transferred to Marw al-Rūd¹⁶⁹ and was imprisoned in a house. His family was (put up) in (another) room of the same house. He had only one daughter. When he realised that he was going to be put to death, he went into the room (f.15b) fetched his shroud, bade farewell to his family and shut the door of the room. Then he washed himself, offered two rak'at prayers and gave 100 dīnārs to the man who was going to kill him and said (to him): "You owe it to me to shroud me in this cloth which I have washed in the water of Zamzam." He asked the executioner to tell the wazir Nizām al-Mulk (on his behalf): "What you have done is a wicked act. You have taught the Turks how to kill wazirs and officials of the dīwān. He who digs a pit for others, falls into it himself and he who introduces a wrong course of action has to bear the burden of it and of those who undertake it until the day of judgement." Then he resigned himself to the inevitable Will of Allāh. This occurred on Sunday, the 16th of Dhu'l-Hijja in the year 456. Shaykh

T.p.26 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan al-Bākhazī lamented him in an elegy addressing sultan Alp-Arslan b. Dā'ūd b. Mikā'īl b. Saljūq (as follows):

"Your uncle brought him closer (to himself), elevated his status and provided him with gracious shelter in his kingdom.

Both you masters fulfilled the due right of their servant. He gave him this world and you gave him the hereafter."¹⁷⁰

THE STORY OF MALIK CHAGHRĪ BEG DĀ'ŪD B. MĪKĀ'ĪL B. SALJŪQ AND THE FIGHT OF SULTAN APUD AL-DAWLA ABŪ SHUJĀ' ALP-ARSLAN B. DĀ'ŪD B. MĪKĀ'ĪL B. SALJŪQ AGAINST SULTAN MAWDŪD B. MAS'ŪD B. MAHMŪD B. SEBŪK-TEGIN AND THE DEFEAT OF MAWDŪD AND THE MAKING OF PEACE (BETWEEN THEM).

It was brought to the notice of malik Chaghrī Beg Dā'ūd b. Mīkā'īl that the amīrs of -----¹⁷¹ were paying kharāj to Ghazna. So he set out towards the outskirts of Qararbāj¹⁷² and a battle took place between him and one of the amirs. This amīr fortified himself in the citadel until his provisions ran short and his strength declined. He asked for safe-conduct and came down from the citadel.¹⁷³ He presented to malik Chaghrī Beg Dā'ūd 1,000 horses fully equipped and a knife with

a ruby handle which weighed about 60 mithqāls as a gift. This knife remained amongst the treasures of the Saljūqs until 548, the time when the Ghuzz launched an attack.¹⁷⁴

T.p.27 After this malik Dā'ūd was afflicted by jaundice but he recovered from the illness. Sultan Mawdūd heard about his illness and weak state, so he equipped his army (to march) to Khurāsān. Malik Dā'ūd appointed his son sultan Adud al-Dawla Alp-Arslan as his heir-apparent. Sultan Alp-Arslan stayed at Balkh for some time until he had recovered from the effects of the hardships of the journey.¹⁷⁵ When the commander of the troops of Ghazna heard the news about sultan Alp-Arslan, he gathered together his soldiers and ordered them to stay put. Sultan Alp-Arslan attacked them and fate drove a sweeping slaughter and quick defeat from them to the army of Ghazna. Sultan Alp-Arslan took 1,000 men as captive from amongst the commanders and he acquired innumerable horses and arms as booty.¹⁷⁶ When he went in to see his father malik Dā'ūd, happiness removed his illness from him (malik Dā'ūd) and his body was restored to health. When the sun entered the sign of Aries, malik Dā'ūd along with his son Alp-Arslan set out towards the citadel of Tirmidh.¹⁷⁷ The castellan (kūtwāl) of the citadel was shaykh al-kātib al-Bayhaqī.¹⁷⁸ (f.16b) Malik Dā'ūd wrote him (a

letter saying): "Forget your hopes and expectations from the sultans of Ghazna. Stories about them have been eradicated from Khurāsān and the traces of their good fortune have been obliterated." Amirak Bayhaqī realised that he could not receive their (the Ghaznawid's) help and their aid could not reach him. So he came out, donated his estate and house at Bayhaq¹⁷⁹ to wazīr Abū 'Alī b. Shādān¹⁸⁰ and left for Ghazna.¹⁸¹

Malik Dā'ūd assigned the authority over Balkh, Tukhāristān, Tirmidh, Qubādiyān,¹⁸² Wakhash¹⁸³ and Walwālij¹⁸⁴ to sultan Alp-Arslan and backed him up by (appointing) Abū 'Alī b. Shādān as wazīr to him. This wazīr made these territories (wilāyāt) prosperous through his ability and the people benefited from his benevolence. When death approached him, he requested sultan Alp-Arslan to assign the office of wazīr to wazīr Nizām al-Mulk after his (death).

Then the lord of Khwārazm rebelled. So malik Dā'ūd set out towards Khwārazm and conquered T.p.28 Hazārasp¹⁸⁵ within a week. Then he conquered the district of Kūrkānj (Gurgānj)¹⁸⁶ and then it became easy for him to capture the entire country (wilāya).

Then the amīr of the Qīpchaq¹⁸⁷ came to him and accepted Islam in his presence. So relationship by marriage took place between them.¹⁸⁸

Then sultan Mawdūd wrote (letters) to the maliks of the outlying regions and called them to

support and help him. He prepared money for them and (promised) them authority over the different regions of Khurāsān and its environs. So they agreed to it. Sultan Mawdūd departed from Ghazna, but the angel of death came forth to him and his star disappeared before rising. His army returned to Ghazna in a state of frustration.

The maliks (of the outlying regions) had left their territories before the news of the death of sultan Mawdūd reached (f.17a) their ears. Amongst them was amīr Kālijār, the wālī of Iṣfahān.¹⁸⁹ All his troops perished in the (Great) Desert (Mafāza) and he fell ill and returned to Iṣfahān. The khāqān of the Turks¹⁹⁰ came to Tirmidh, which he devastated causing a great deal of looting and confiscation.¹⁹¹ Amīr Khashkā (Qashqa) set out towards the territories of Khwārazm, but malik Dā'ūd repulsed him. Sultan Alp-Arslan repulsed the khāqān. So the khāqān encamped on the (bank of) Oxus in the direction of Bukhārā and asked to make peace.¹⁹²

Malik Dā'ūd crossed the Oxus in the company of two horsemen from amongst his close associates and sat with the khāqān on the same throne. They ate and drank together, became reconciled and then parted.

Then the turn of the sultanate of Ghazna came to sultan Farrukh-Zād b. Mas'ūd. He equipped a

large army (to go) towards Khurāsān. Amīr Quṭb al-Dīn atābeg Kul-Sāri' (Kül-Sarīgh) met them (on the battlefield). They took him captive, put him in fetters and sent him to Ghazna. They (also) took captive a group of high-ranking officials of the empire. Alp-Arslan asked his father malik Dā'ūd b. Mīkā'il's permission and marched towards them with his army. So the army of Ghazna fled from him and a great number of influential and high-ranking officials of the Ghaznawid (Sebük-Teginiyya) empire were taken captive. Sultan Farrukh-Zād set the captives free and bestowed a robe of honour upon amīr Quṭb al-Dīn Kul-Sāri' (Kül-Sarīgh).¹⁹³ Then Ghaznawid (Sebük-Teginiyya) and Saljūq opinions came to an agreement that each (of them) should be sovereign within his own territories and should stop attacking the other. Shaykh Abu'l-Faḍl al-Bayhaqī¹⁹⁴ wrote (f.17b) the peace agreement.¹⁹⁵

THE ACCOUNT OF THE DEATH OF MALIK CHAGHRĪ
BEG DĀ'ŪD B. MĪKĀ'ĪL B. SALJŪQ AND THE
(REIGN OF) ABSOLUTE AUTHORITY (ISTIBDĀD)
OF SULTAN 'ADUD AL-DAWLA ABŪ SHUJĀ' ALP-ARSLAN

Then illness afflicted malik Dā'ūd and his health deteriorated. He was seventy years old. He died in Šafar in the year 452 in Sarakhs.¹⁹⁶ His coffin was brought to Marw. His son Alp-

Arslan replaced him. Sultan Rukn al-Din Toghril lived for (another) three years after (the death of) his brother (Chaghrī Beg).

THE ACCOUNT OF SULTAN 'ADUD
AL-DAWLA ABŪ SHUJĀ' ALP-ARSLAN
B. DĀ'ŪD B. MĪKĀ'ĪL B. SALJŪQ

When sultan Alp-Arslan took power¹⁹⁷ in his hands and mounted the throne of the kingdom, he spread the wings of justice over (his) subjects and cast the shadow of graciousness and generosity on them. He was satisfied that his subjects
T.p.30 should pay the basic kharāj in two instalments every year. He used to distribute 4,000 dīnārs as alms every year in the month of Ramaḍān, (out of which) 1,000 dīnārs were at Balkh, 1,000 at Marw, 1,000 at Herat and 1,000 at Nīshāpūr. He (also) used to give away as alms 10,000 dīnārs in his presence.

(Once) some slanderers wrote (a letter) to him slandering Nizām al-Mulk, the wazīr, and informing him (the sultan) of his (the wazīr's) gains. They put it beside his prayer-mat. So the sultan (f.18a) summoned the wazīr Nizām al-Mulk and said to him: "Take this letter. If they are right in what they have written, improve your morals and mend your affairs; and if they have told a lie, forgive the slanderer¹⁹⁸ and make the

utmost effort in the affairs of the dīwān, in order to be safe from any fabrication and slander (against you)."

THE BATTLE OF THE SULTĀN AL-A'ẒAM AḌUD AL-DAWLA
ABŪ SHUJĀ' ALP-ARSLAN B. DĀ'ŪD B. MĪKĀ'ĪL B.
SALJŪQ WITH MALIK QUTLUMUSH B. ISRĀ'ĪL AND HIS
(ALP-ARSLAN'S) VICTORY OVER HIM (QUTLUMUSH)

News arrived that malik Qutlumush b. Isrā'īl b. Saljūq who was the cousin of sultan Toghrīl and the forefather of the (Saljūq) maliks of Rūm, had rebelled and claimed the sultanate for himself, that he had assembled rabble troops like scattered locusts, had encamped outside Sāwa¹⁹⁹ and intended (to march) towards the town of Rayy. So the sultan dispatched a commander called Saw-Tegin²⁰⁰ as his vanguard. The origin and birthplace of this commander was the village of Khākistar²⁰¹ and L'RBN (?), and it was he who built the ribāṭ of Khākistar. He had castrated himself voluntarily, without compulsion.

T.p.31

This commander set out towards Rayy and the sultan (himself) departed from Nīshāpūr on the 10th of Muḥarram in the year 456. Malik Qutlumush devastated all the villages of Rayy and gave his soldiers a free hand in doing so. He made water flow over the areas around 'Abd Allāhābād²⁰² and

the valley of salt which was a marsh and very difficult for travellers to cross.

When (f.18b) both the armies advanced towards each other, wazīr Nizām al-Mulk put on armour and mobilised the troops. On the right wing of the sultan were Quṭb al-Dīn Kul-Sāri' (Kūl-Sarīgh) and amīr Pahlawān SHNKLWA and on his left wing were amīr Altun-Taq, the father of amīr Jash (? Ḥabash), and the commander amīr Saw-Tegin. With the sultan in the centre were amīr Buldachī, amīr Sonqurcha and amīr Aghachī and some others of the great amīrs.

When malik Qutlumush rose the next morning his army covered the whole land. His brother was on his right side and amīr Abū Buqa was on his left side.

Then the sultan rode and tried to find a way through the foot of the mountain but he could not find one. So he made his horse go through the valley in the water and beckoned his troops with his whip. So the troops followed him and they waded through the dreadful floods (while) malik Qutlumush and his troops were hoping that they would be drowned in the clinging mud of this salt marsh.

Sonqurcha attacked malik Qutlumush, snatched his insignia and lowered his flag. Malik Qutlumush was put to flight, having received many wounds. He made for the citadel of Gird-Kūh,²⁰³ which was

one of his own. No horsemen or foot-soldiers of Qutlumush's army remained, since they had turned tail and fled away.

T.p.32 When the sultan intended to kill the captives who had fought against the might of lions with the arrogance of wolves, the wazīr Nizām al-Mulk asked him to show mercy and forgiveness. So he forgave them and let them go with kindness and beneficence.

When the battle came to an end²⁰⁴ (f.19a) and the dust of victory and triumph had settled,²⁰⁵ they found malik Qutlumush dead in a sheep-fold. His coffin was brought to the tomb of sultan Rukn al-Dīn Toghrīl in Rayy.²⁰⁶

The 'amīd of Khurāsān, Muḥammad b. Manṣūr al-Nasawī,²⁰⁷ was the 'āmil of Baṣra during this year. He returned to the presence of the sultan with the revenues which had long been awaited. Shaykh 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan al-Bākhazī was in the service of the 'amīd of Khurāsān and many things happened to him in Baṣra.

THE ACCOUNT OF THE 'AMĪD OF KHURĀSĀN,
MUḤAMMAD B. MANṢŪR AL-NASAWĪ

The 'amīd of Khurāsān was a butcher in the army-market in his early life. He was one of the boon-companions of the akhur sālār²⁰⁸ of sultan Rukn al-Dīn Toghrīl. When the akhur sālār passed

away, 'amīd Muḥammad took over this office. He ordered the stables to be swept and cleaned, he sprinkled water, put the harnesses in order and procured new nose-bags. Every day the sultan used to be amazed at the wonderful work he saw him do every day. His activity amazed him (the sultan) and he put him in charge of the lamp-bearers. (Once) sultan Alp-Arslan set out on a dark night. The oil (in the lamps) had finished and his stock (of oil) had run out,²¹⁰ so he (the 'amīd) bought one mann of almond-oil from a cook for 50 dīnārs and lit the lamps with it. When the sultan noticed (f.19b) the smell of the smoke of the lamps, he asked him (the 'amīd) the reason for it. So he (the 'amīd) told him (the sultan) about what he had done.²¹¹ So

T.p.33 the sultan came to know about his perspicacity and he brought him close to his throne and opened his heart (to him). He assigned the affairs of the kharāj of Nīshāpūr and its surroundings to him, and he (the 'amīd) collected the kharāj from Nīshāpūr and its surroundings. During the famine of Nīshāpūr, people benefited from his benevolence and his provisions fulfilled their needs.

The province of Khwārazm was (also) assigned to him. (Once) wazīr Nizām al-Mulk sent him some collectors from the dīwān with an amīr accompanied by retainers and servants. He (Nizām) instructed him (the amīr) to make the 'amīd of Khurāsān taste

humiliation. So the 'amīd of Khurāsān ordered that the ghulāms should be slain and thrown into the Oxus. He bought 100 ghulāms, tied 100 dīnārs around the waist of each of them and sent them as a gift to the sultan, and said: "The revenue of the sultan cannot be collected by humiliation and degradation and authority can only be exercised in a proper way with respectful behaviour. These ghulāms breached the obligatory rights of your dīwān and so I caused them to taste the sip of the punishment with the sword which you put round my neck and I built on your foundation. I have carried out the formality of service with very little reward, firmly believing that the efforts of a humble person are not worthless." So the sultan accepted his excuse and granted him a large amount of money from his dīwān.

The 'amīd of Khurāsān had served malik Dā'ūd (f.20a) b. Mīkā'il b. Saljūq and Sulṭān al-A'ẓam Rukn al-Dīn Toghrīl b. Mīkā'il b. Saljūq and Sulṭān al-A'ẓam Aḍud al-Dawla Abū Shujā' Alp-Arslan and his son sultan Jalāl al-Dawla Malik-Shāh and malik Borī-Bars²¹² and malik Arghun²¹³ and sultan Rukn al-Dīn Berk-Yaruq and Sulṭān al-A'ẓam Mu'izz al-Dīn Abu'l-Hārith Sanjar b. Malik-Shāh b. Alp-Arslan.

T.p.34 The 'amīd of Khurāsān died on Saturday, the 21st of Shawwāl in the year 494. Malik Arghun was on the point of arresting him and taking him to Marw, but (instead) malik Arghun was stabbed²¹⁴ and the

'amīd of Khurāsān enshrouded and buried him.

One of the most amazing events is that malik Arghun once drew his sword when the 'amīd of Khurāsān was in front of him and said to him: "Shall I put you to the sword or not?" (While saying this) he enumerated the crimes of the 'amīd of Khurāsān (one by one) and scolded him more harshly than the biting of arrows and the raising of swords. He threatened him and said to him again and again: "I shall put you to the sword," while the 'amīd was silent and utterly helpless. A jester slapped him (the 'amīd) and said to him: "O cuckold! Tell him that he should not put you to the sword." So malik Arslan-Arghun laughed and the 'amīd of Khurāsān was rescued from death. The 'amīd of Khurāsān sent 1,000 dīnārs to the jester (f.20b). People were astonished at this and they said: "With a single slap, the stricken obtained his safety and the striker gained 1,000 dīnārs."²¹⁵

THE ACCOUNT OF THE MARCH OF SULTĀN
AL-A'ẒAM APUD AL-DAWLA ABŪ SHUJĀ'
ALP-ARSLAN TOWARDS RŪM (BYZANTIUM)

Sultan Alp-Arslan then set out from Rayy towards Rūm (Byzantium)²¹⁶ at the beginning of Rabī' I in the year 456. The sultan was informed that a band of Kurdish robbers were engaged in highway robbery within the borders of Hulwān²¹⁷

and were trying to cause corruption (fasād) in the land. So the sultan equipped an army (to send) towards them which made these robbers taste the cup of perdition and they did not leave behind any of them (the robbers) in that part of the country.

T.p.35 (Then) a group of these Kurds who had survived the swords came to the presence (of the sultan) and guaranteed to guard the roads from robbers.

The sultan handed over the charge of the regions around there to amīr Beg-Arslan. He (the sultan) then sent out troops at night towards the city of Marand²¹⁸ and stayed there. There was a famous²¹⁹ amīr on the way to the Byzantine territories, who was called amīr Tugh-Tegin.²²⁰ A group of Turcomans had gathered around him. The Byzantines had suffered harm from them (the Turcomans) and they (the Byzantines) were subjected to shame by his (the amīr's) ghazw and jihād. He came into the presence of the sultan and assured him that he would guide his (the sultan's) troops through the defiles of those lands.

Then the sultan was informed that the lands of the Georgians in the Byzantine territories were the centre of disobedience and the headquarters of disbelief (kufṛ) and rebellion (f.21a). So the sultan decided to march towards the lands of the Georgians and appointed his son, sultan Jalāl al-Dawla Malik-Shāh, as his deputy in the army camp.

Malik-Shāh marched towards a citadel in which there were Christian heretics from Byzantium. They killed a great number of the army of Islam. So Nizām al-Mulk and the ‘amīd of Khurāsān dismounted and sultan Malik-Shāh shot an arrow which hit the throat of the lord of the citadel and they (the Muslims) threw stones (at the Georgians) and (managed) to occupy a high mound and climbed to the tops of the mountains. So the army of Islam triumphed over them and put them to the sword and did not spare any of them, nor did they leave any trace of them.

Then sultan Malik-Shāh marched towards another citadel called Surmārī,²²¹ in which there was running water and gardens and he conquered it. There was (also) another citadel nearby. Sultan Malik-Shāh also conquered it and intended to destroy it. But wazīr Nizām al-Mulk forbade him to do so, saying: "It is an impregnable citadel and an outpost for the Muslims." So wazīr Nizām al-Mulk consolidated this

T.p.36 outpost with courageous men and stalwarts. Then sultan Malik-Shāh marched towards (another) place called Maryam Nishīn.²²² This city was the seat of monks and priests. Christian kings and their subjects used to go and visit this place. The impregnability of this city was beyond any description. Its walls were (built) of regularly set and well-ordered stones made firm by nails (f.21b) and iron-sheets, while around its environs was flowing water,

stretching further than the eye could see. Wazīr Nizām al-Mulk prepared large and small ships for war and engaged himself in the fighting without break.²²³ He neither rested his mind at night nor relaxed during the day until sultan Malik-Shāh (managed) to fasten a rope around the parapet of the walls, climbed up the wall and threw it into the water. Allāh, the Almighty relieved him from calamity. He stood up and pronounced the takbīr. (Then) the ghulāms climbed up (the wall), but they could not achieve their aim as the picks had become too blunt to breach because the walls were made of stones strengthened with nails and iron-sheets. So they spent that night on horseback. An earthquake took place that night which destroyed the eastern side of the citadel and (thus) the strength of the Christians crumbled. When the rays of the sun appeared, sultan Malik-Shāh and wazīr Nizām al-Mulk entered the city. They set the churches on fire and put the Christians to the swords. Those who survived converted to Islam.²²⁴

Then a message²²⁵ came from Sulṭān al-A'ẓam Alp-Arslan and he summoned his son Malik-Shāh and his wazīr Nizām al-Mulk to his camp, as he was unaware of the victories which Allāh had made easy for them. So sultan Malik-Shāh set out to join his father Sulṭān al-A'ẓam Alp-Arslan. He did not pass by any citadel which Allāh, the Almighty, did not

conquer at his hands (f.22a) until he reached the presence of his father.

T.p.37 Then Sultān al-A'zam Alp-Arslan equipped his
226 troops (to go) towards Sabīdh Shahr and fierce battles took place between its inhabitants and the sultan till Allāh, the Almighty, conquered this city (at the sultan's hands).

(Then) the sultan marched towards another city called Aghāk Lāl.²²⁷ The length of the walls of this city was 100 cubits and its width was more than its length. A mountain enclosed the city from its eastern, western and northern sides. And there were impregnable citadels on the tops of the mountains. The wall we mentioned was (built) on the southern side (of the city) and there was a river like the Oxus in front of the wall and a bridge was suspended there. So they (the inhabitants) removed the bridge and the hopes of the army of Islam of conquering this city were dashed.

Sultan Alp-Arslan pitched his tents in the road (going) to the city and pleaded (to Allāh), begged (His help) and prayed. The army of the sultan fastened a strong bridge across and a fierce fight took place. Then two men came out of the city calling for help and seeking safe-conduct. They asked the sultan for a just amīr who would abstain from committing crimes and hold (himself) back from forbidden (things). So the sultan

dispatched amīr Ibn Mujāhid and Abū Sumra (with them). But as soon as they crossed the wall, the Georgians encircled them and stabbed them in their kidneys and hit them on the skull and forehead. There was the sword in front of them and water ahead. So Ṣawāb, the khādim, came to the sultan when he was saying his prayer (f.22b) and acquainted him with the situation (that) the Georgians had attacked the Muslims and the Muslims had retreated in flight. But the sultan did not discontinue his prayer and offered it in submission and humbleness. Then he emerged, got onto his horse and endured the heat of the battle and bloodshed until he had entered the city and purified the earth of its dirt. (Some) brave men remained in one of the towers of the city and continued fighting against the sultan with real courage. So the sultan ordered that firewood should be put around the tower. (After this) they set fire to it and they (the men) were burnt and turned into ashes. The sultan returned to his tent in the best condition and happiest mood. The army of Islam acquired immeasurable and unlimited booty.

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When the night became dark, a violent wind blew. There was still some fire left from the kindled fire already mentioned by us. So the wind carried it along and dropped it on the city and the whole city was burnt.

There was another impregnable citadel in the vicinity of this one and the sultan (also) conquered that one.

After this the king of the Georgians dispatched his envoys and gifts (to the sultan), asked him to make peace and prepared the ground (for the sultan) to excuse him. So amīr Temūr, the ḥājib and Anūk al-Khāṣṣ set out on sultan's behalf with the envoys of the Georgians. The sultan wrote a letter to the king of the Georgians (saying) that there was no other option for him but either to accept Islam or to agree to pay the jizya. So he agreed to pay the jizya.²²⁸

THE MARCH OF SULTĀN AL-A'ẒAM ADUD AL-DAWLA

ABŪ SHUJĀ' ALP-ARSLAN B. DĀ'ŪD B. MĪKĀ'ĪL

B. SALJŪQ FROM GEORGIA TO BYZANTIUM

(f.23a) Then the sultan made for the Byzantine
T.p.39 territories. So he set out towards the towns of
Qārṣ (Kars)²²⁹ and Ani.²³⁰ In the vicinity of
these two (towns) there were two other towns called
Tasal Warda and Nūrā.²³¹ The inhabitants of these
two towns came out and accepted the paths of the
Faith (Islam). The sultan was overjoyed and was
delighted on account of this. He ordered that all
of them should be circumcised. He destroyed the
churches and built mosques (there).

He did not stay anywhere until he reached the

town of Ani (where) he found that its walls were surrounded by high mountains and at the top of every mountain there was an impregnable citadel. This city was the stronghold of Byzantium and their treasures were (kept) in the citadels there. The inhabitants of the town thought that the sultan and his soldiers were traders because they had never seen any of the armies of their enemies. The sultan pitched his tents on the farms of the town. Some horsemen of the town who were entrusted with safeguarding the farms and water-canals came out towards them. They tried to drive away the troops from the farms, but a group of the ghulāms of the sultan rushed towards them and the Byzantines turned their backs in astonishment. The sultan followed in their tracks until they entered the town. When the sultan had played havoc with their country and they (the soldiers of the sultan) had done their utmost to achieve (their aim),²³² the Byzantines became faint-hearted and listless. Their interests clashed and their opinions differed. When they realised the strength of the sultan, they climbed up to the tops of the mountains which formed the wall of their town. They threw down pieces of wood with clothes.....²³³ across its paths and its steps, and thus blocked (access to) the tops of the paths (leading to) the mountains (f.23b) by this device. So the sultan ordered

the flame-throwers (naffātūn) to burn the pieces of wood and clothes. The Byzantines (then) came down and agreed to pay the jizya. The sultan appointed over them the 'amīd of Khurāsān and Shams, the khādīm, until they collected jizya from them and they were subdued.

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Then the Byzantines repented that they had made this peace with the sultan and came out to fight. So a fierce battle took place. The sultan ordered that sacks should be filled with straw and dust should be set up and piled high until it looked like a hill. Then catapult-men (arbāb al-maqālī'), flame-throwers, short arrow (husbānāt),²³⁴ spear (khaṭṭī'āt)²³⁵ and arrow-throwers (.... marāsīl)²³⁶ were elevated to it. So the Byzantines selected every beautiful girl and every handsome boy from their town, sent them out of the town and made them stand in the (way of) the army-camp of the sultan, so that their being taken into captivity might prevent the army from fighting. But the sultan ordered that they should be rounded up and arrested. The sultan and his army endured the fierceness of the battle and did not distract themselves by eating, drinking and sleeping. Then the sultan erected a palace of wood with an awning on it made of felts dipped into vinegar and they fought from that point. They prevented the Byzantines from climbing up the wall and towers. They destroyed the pillars of the wall

and entered the town leaving its inhabitants trodden under the hooves (of the horses). The sultan built a mosque in it and appointed an amīr with troops in the town.

Then he marched towards Iṣfahān and from there (f.24a) to Kirmān. His brother malik Qawurt b. malik Dā'ūd b. Mīkā'īl b. Saljūq received him. Then he departed from Kirmān to Khurāsān.²³⁷ (From there) he marched towards Manqishlāgh²³⁸ (where) he besieged amīr Qufshat until he brought him down from his citadel by force. (But) then he became pleased with him and sent him back to his citadel.

Then he (the sultan) desired to visit the tomb of his grandfather Amīr Saljūq. So he set out towards Jand and Ṣayrān (? Ṣabrān)²³⁹ where Jand Khān welcomed him (presenting to him) many gifts.²⁴⁰

Then he returned to Kurkānj (Gurgānj) ⁱⁿ Khwārazm T.p.41 and appointed his son Arslan-Arghun²⁴¹ as amīr of Khwārazm. Then he moved to Marw and from Marw to Rayakān.²⁴² Here he made his son sultan Jalāl al-Dawla Malik-Shāh his heir-apparent and bestowed robes of honour upon (all) those amīrs who were present on this occasion.²⁴³

THE MARCH OF SULTĀN AL-A'ẒAM ALP-ARSLAN
TOWARDS FĀRS AND KIRMĀN FOR THE SECOND TIME

Then sultan Alp-Arslan marched towards Iṣfahān in the year 459. The malik of Kirmān (Qawurt) who was (also called) Qara-Arslan had a foolish wazīr. He incited the malik of Kirmān to rebel against the sultan. So he accepted his suggestion. The sultan set out towards Kirmān and the vanguard (of the sultan) fell on the vanguard (of the malik), routing the army of Kirmān. The sultan acquired victory by inspiring fear and dread of him worked in their mind in the same way as his swords acted on their bodies and all of them fled in fear in horror²⁴⁴ (f.24b) and confusion.²⁴⁵ Malik Qara-Arslan (Qawurt) ran away along with his horsemen to Jīruft.²⁴⁶ Then he begged (the sultan to show him) the rains of (his) kindness and hoped for a sign of magnanimity and forgiveness. He achieved his aim after he had repented and sought forgiveness for his crimes. He came to the sultan and the sultan stood up and embraced him. He (the sultan) wept and made all around him weep. He granted the territories of Kirmān to him. So Qara-Arslan said to him: "I have small daughters who are like sand-grouse feathers. You have to provide for their dowry." The sultan agreed (to it) and granted to each of them 100,000 dīnārs from his treasury as well as clothes, ornaments, iqṭā's and wedding feasts.²⁴⁷

Then the sultan marched towards Fārs. When he reached Iṣṭakhr,²⁴⁸ he captured the citadel which had been built by Sulaymān b. Dā'ūd, may the mercy of Allāh be upon him. He brought down its lord (wālī) as a wild deer is brought down from the lofty mountains. Then the lord of the citadel presented to the sultan a cup made of turquoise which had the name of Jamshīd²⁴⁹ inscribed in it in ancient scripts. He took out from the treasures of this citadel what neither eye had (ever) seen nor ear had (ever) heard about.²⁵⁰ He sent the lord (ṣāhib) of this citadel to another one.

THE STORY OF FADLŪN AND
THE CAPTURE OF HIS CITADEL

Fadlūn was the lord (wālī) of Ganja²⁵¹ and its surroundings. Wazīr Nizām al-Mulk set out towards his territories and Fadlūn welcomed him, kissed his stirrup and returned with him (f.25a) to the presence of the sultan. The sultan assigned to Fadlūn the territories of Fārs(?). There was in that area a citadel made of stones, erected by Allāh, no builder had (ever) built it nor had any creature (ever) possessed it. So Fadlūn barricaded himself in it and Satan seduced him and led him astray.²⁵² So wazīr Nizām al-Mulk marched to the foot of the citadel and kindled the fires of war. Arrows which could penetrate iron fell from the occupants of the

citadel onto the army of Nizām al-Mulk. The army of Nizām al-Mulk threw stones and arrows at them and when it was midday, the occupants of the citadel asked for safe-conduct.²⁵³ People were astonished at this and they tried to find out what was really happening. The reason for this (request) was that the waters of the wells of that citadel had gone down within one night.

T.p.43 So the necessity of thirst obliged them to ask for safe-conduct. Faḍlūn took shelter in a fortified palace in the middle of the citadel. Wazīr Nizām al-Mulk commanded amīr Hazārasp and said to him: "You have to go with your horsemen and foot-soldiers to the birthplace of Faḍlūn." So he went there and summoned his close relatives and his womenfolk and beat them up like animals are beaten and skinned them like hides are skinned. (When) Faḍlūn was told about this stratagem, he descended from the citadel along with his soldiers, so as to be a barrier between Hazārasp and his relatives. The vanguard of wazīr Nizām al-Mulk came forward to him and Faḍlūn dismounted and hid in the bushes. A man from the army of wazīr Nizām al-Mulk caught him (f.25b) and held him by the tufts of his hair, taking him captive to the seat of Nizām al-Mulk. So he (Nizām) ordered that he (Faḍlūn) should be put in prison.²⁵⁴

Sultān al-A'zam Alp-Arslan was at Kirmān. He

dreamt that night that wazīr Nizām al-Mulk had captured the citadel, brought down its occupants and taken Faḍlūn captive. When he woke up from his sleep, he mentioned his dream to the interpreters of dreams. So they said (to him): "It is a good dream (and) what we have interpreted has in fact taken place." After a few days the messenger of Nizām al-Mulk arrived. Nizām al-Mulk (also) arrived with Faḍlūn in his company as captive. The sultan forgave him and shaykh 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan al-Bākharzī wrote the victory-document.

THE MARCH OF SULTĀN AL-A'ZAM ADUD

AL-DAWLA ABŪ SHUJĀ' ALP-ARSLAN

TOWARDS BYZANTIUM ONCE AGAIN

In the year 460, the king of Abkhāz²⁵⁵ whose name was Baqrāt²⁵⁶ attacked Bardhu'a²⁵⁷ which was one of the towns of the Muslims.²⁵⁸ So the sultan made a firm decision and marched towards the lands T.p.44 of the Abkhāz. The commander, amīr Saw-Tegin, was the (commander of the) vanguard of the troops (of the sultan). The army of the king of Abkhāz consisted of the bravest men of the Byzantine lands. They were Franks and the men of Shakkī.²⁵⁹ Shakkī is a district. Its king was called Akhsatān.²⁶⁰ Around Shakkī there were thickets and jungles in which were the robbers of Byzantium and Abkhāz. The sultan ordered the flame-throwers to burn the

thickets and they were set on fire. In the middle of those thickets, the sultan saw two citadels built of iron-plates (f.26a) and nails made of copper; all manoeuvres to reach there had failed and the sultan despaired when he saw them. There existed an old feud between the lord of these two citadels and the king of Shakkī. So the lord of the citadels descended, accepted Islam and surrendered the citadels (to the sultan).

Then the sultan penetrated further into that country and played havoc with the lands, capturing citadels and plundering the country until he acquired booty from them whose amount defied any description.

Then the king of the Franks who was (also) the king of Shakkī (called) Akhsatān²⁶¹ came to the presence of the sultan with some of his horsemen and stood at the door. The sultan said (to his men): "Make him dismount and escort him. He is a magnificent king." When he dismounted and entered to (see) the sultan, he said: "I have been sorely afflicted by going astray²⁶² and nothing has brought me to your presence but the image of Islam in my mind and my breaking the bonds of my affiliation with Christianity." (On hearing this) the sultan came down from his throne, welcomed him, embraced him and kissed his head. He (the king) kissed the sultan's foot. So the chain of (their) tears flowed at this juncture, and the

fires of passion leapt in their bosoms. King Akhsatān proclaimed the Shahāda: "There is no god but Allāh and Muḥammad, peace be upon him, is His devoted servant and His messenger." The sultan bestowed gems from his treasures on Akhsatān and
T.p.45 made him ride by his side after showing him kindness and respect. The amīrs and ḥājibs walked in front of him until they made him alight in a tent (which was) furnished with the luxury of kingship and comfort. The sultan sent him a faqīh who taught him (f.26b) the rules of Islam, the prayers and some sūras of the Qur'ān, and ordered that he should be circumcised. He assigned to him the authority over those territories.

Then the sultan marched towards Baqrātīs (Baqrāt), the king of the Abkhāz, and gave his soldiers a free hand in killing and plundering in that country until he reached the town of Tiflīs. There he came across a bath-house which had been built by Sulaymān b. Dā'ūd, may the peace of Allāh be upon them both, over a muddy fountain (which was) ^{warm} because of its hot water without any fire near it. It was the first bath-house ever built on the earth. The length of the wall of Tiflīs was 40 cubits and (its) width was the same. In it there was a church which was for them (the Christians) like the Ka'ba for the Muslims. The sultan conquered this town and built a Friday mosque there.

In the vicinity of Abkhāz there was a citadel which was called "The citadel of the Cross" (qal'at al-Ṣalīb). In this citadel there were valiant men who were not afraid of using spears and blades (of swords) and who did not worry about fighting against stalwarts. In this (citadel) there were many churches and statues of Jesus and Mary, upon them be salvation, made of gold and statues of the apostles made of silver and a model of the table which was sent down to Jesus, made of gold. Allāh, the Almighty, conquered this citadel by the efforts of wazīr Nizām al-Mulk. All those riches fell as booty to the Muslims, and the inhabitants (of the citadel) became like chaff which was scattered by the winds.

Then Baqrātīs (Baqrāt) sent an envoy to the presence of the sultan and sought his compassion. So the sultan accepted his request. But then Baqrātīs repented of his request for safe-conduct and was misled by the seduction of Satan. (f.27a) Then a severe winter came²⁶³ and snow began to fall continuously. The sultan waited until the weather improved and the snow melted. Baqrāt once again asked for safe-conduct, but (this time) the sultan rejected his trick categorically²⁶⁴ and made him taste the consequences of his behaviour. So Baqrāt equipped his troops, but they perished of the coldness of winter, and misfortune and hardships

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surrounded them.

Then the sultan devastated the town in which Nimrūd b. Kan'ān had once lived and from where he had ascended into the heavens.²⁶⁵ He built in its vicinity (another) town and a mosque.

The sultan stayed in Georgia for five months. Then he was informed that the khāqān of the Turks²⁶⁶ had passed away and that the affairs of that country were in disarray. So the sultan returned to Ganja and then set out towards Bardhu'a. He crossed the river Araxes, which is like the Oxus, without the help of any boat or sailor.

The sultan reached a village which was called WRYANS (?), where an experienced²⁶⁷ old man welcomed and said salām to the sultan and said that he was a Muslim who had accepted Islam at the hand of the commander of the Faithful al-Mu'tasim²⁶⁸ when he had passed by that place. So wazīr Nizām al-Mulk asked him about some precepts of Islam and (found) that he was knowledgeable about them. The reliable Muslims and Christians of that country testified that he had had a very varied and interesting life²⁶⁹ and was more veracious than a sand-grouse²⁷⁰ and Abū Dharr. So the sultan honoured him and singled him out for his favour. He (the sultan) drove his riding-animal towards him and gave him 1,000 dīnārs.

The sultan then returned to Fārs and celebrated the 'īd there.²⁷¹

(f.27b) THE MARCH OF SULTĀN AL-A'ẒAM
APUD AL-DAWLA ABŪ SHUJĀ' ALP-ARSLAN
ONCE AGAIN AGAINST THE BYZANTINE KING,
ROMANUS,²⁷² AND HIS (ALP-ARSLAN'S)
TAKING HIM (ROMANUS) AS CAPTIVE

In the year 463, sultan Alp-Arslan passed

T.p.47 through Syria and appointed his son as deputy over the town of Aleppo with a battalion of his soldiers. He (himself) crossed the river Euphrates on horse-back²⁷³ without using boats and ships, and reached²⁷⁴ the outskirts of Khuy²⁷⁵ and Salmās.²⁷⁶ (Here) it reached his ears that the Byzantine king had put his kingdom in the charge of a man from amongst the descendants of the Christian kings and had equipped for himself an army of more than 300,000²⁷⁷ horsemen and foot-soldiers. Byzantium threw its own children²⁷⁸ to the sultan and the earth threw up its burden of people and things. Groups of the rabbles of Byzantium and Armenia, and of the Persians (al-Furs), Bajanāk (Pechenegs),²⁷⁹ the²⁸⁰ Ghuzz and Franks (al-Faranj)²⁸¹ united under this king. Strife (fitna) became widespread²⁸² and Christianity became strengthened²⁸³ on the basis of their assembling together. They swore that they would drive away the caliph (from Baghdad), replace him with a catholicos (jāthalīq), and destroy the mosques and build churches (there).

So the sultan sent a message to his wife and his wazīr Nizām al-Mulk²⁸⁴ and said to them: "I am going towards the enemy with the number of men I have with me. If I return unhurt, it will be a blessing of Allāh, the Almighty. (And) if I am martyred, it will be the mercy of Allāh, the Almighty. My successor is my son Malik-Shāh." (At this time) the sultan was accompanied by 15,000²⁸⁵ of his valiant horsemen. Every one (of them) (f.28a) had a horse to ride.

The caliph al-Qā'im bi amr Allāh, the commander of the Faithful, had ordered that a prayer (du'ā') should be read out from the pulpits. He made a copy of the prayer and gave it to the khaṭībs. It was composed by Abū Sa'īd b. Mawṣilāya²⁸⁶ and is (as follows): "O Allāh, raise the banner of Islam and his helper and refute polytheism by wounding its back and cutting its ropes. Help the holy warriors (mujāhids) in Your paths, who in obedience to You have given up their lives generously and who have succeeded by selling their souls to You and have benefited from the help which extends their contract. Fill their lands with victory and safety. Favour sultan Alp-Arslan T.p.48 (who is) the manifestation of the commander of the Faithful, with the help which illuminates his banners and makes his goal easy (for him). Back him with support whose lips are smiling and whose

markets and harvests are ever-lasting; by means of which his hands will strengthen the honour of Your dīn and which will cause him (to fight) tomorrow against the infidels with double (the effect) of today. Assist his soldiers with Your angels and tie his resolutions with blessedness and favours, as he has given up rest to gain Your favour and has spent his property and his own self in following the path of Your ideal commandments which are worthy of obedience. You say and Your saying is true:

'O those who believe, Shall I lead you to a bargain that will save you from a grievous penalty? Believe in Allāh and His apostle and try your utmost in the cause of Allāh with your property and persons.'²⁸⁷

O Allāh (f.28b), as he (the sultan) has responded to Your call, complied with it, avoided laziness in trying to safeguard the Sharī'a, has come and faced Your enemies personally and has struggled hard²⁸⁸ for the triumph of Your dīn, so honour him with victory and help him with favourable decisions from Your Divine decree (qaḍā wa'l-qadar) endowing his goals with protection which will keep every stratagem of (his) enemies away from him and will surround him with Your graceful attributes with the strongest hands. Make every goal he intends and every aim to which he aspires and which he pursues, easy for him, so that his rise which is blessed with victory may become bright and the eye

of the polytheists, because they persist in going²⁸⁹ astray, may become blind to the path of righteousness."

So the groups of the Muslims prayed humbly to Allāh, the Almighty in his favour with pure intention and true resolution, submissive hearts and convictions grazing in the gardens of purity. Verily He who is glorified and Almighty says: "Say (to them) (that) my sustainer does not care for you if you do not call Him (for help)."²⁹⁰ So they T.p.49 craved Allāh, the Almighty to honour his (the sultan's) side, blunt the back of his opponents, raise his flag and give him victory to his utmost and extreme limits, and to make difficulties easy for him and to humiliate polytheism before him.

Then the sultan approached the Byzantine king at a place known as ZHRĀ²⁹¹ (which lay) between Khilāṭ (Akhlāṭ)²⁹² and Malāzgird²⁹³ on Wednesday, the 15th Dhu al-Qa'da in the year 463. The sultan sent him a message about making peace. (But) he replied that peace would be made at Rayy. This (f.29a) disturbed the sultan. So his imām and faqīh Abū Naṣr Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Mālik al-Bukhārī al-Ḥanafī said to him: "You are fighting for the dīn of Allāh. I hope Allāh, the Almighty has written this victory in your name. So face them on Friday at the time when all the khaṭībs will be praying from the pulpits for the victory of the holy warriors (mujāhids) against the infidels,

as prayer (at that time) is bound to be answered." So the sultan waited until Friday for the khutba of the khatibs and recited the saying of Allāh, the Almighty: "There is no victory but from Allāh."²⁹⁴ The sultan said: "Perhaps there may be someone among the khatibs who might say at the end of the khutba: 'O Allāh! Help the Muslim armies and their troops, Allāh will fulfil the aim of the holy warriors (ghuzā) and their desires by virtue of his prayers (to Him).'"

Wazīr Nizām al-Mulk returned to Hamadān²⁹⁵ in order to defend Iraq, Khurāsān and Māzandarān²⁹⁶ from rebellious and corrupt people.

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The sultan put himself at risk and said (to his soldiers): "Those who want to return may return, as there is no sultan who gives orders or forbids except Allāh." He threw away (his) bow and arrow, took his sword and fastened the tail of his horse to his hand. He made all his soldiers do the same.

When the two armies faced (each other), the Byzantines dug a trench around the army and the sultan said: "By Allāh! They are defeated, as the digging of the trench in spite of their great number is a sign of their cowardice and faint-heartedness."

The Byzantine emperor (qayṣar) pitched a pavilion of red satin (f.29b), and a canopy like

it, and some tents of silk brocade. He sat on a throne made of gold above which there was a cross (also) made of gold embellished with priceless gems, and in front of him were many monks and priests reciting the Bible.

The two armies met (in the battlefield) on Friday when the khaṭīb of the Muslims stood on the pulpit. The voices (of the recitation) of the Qur'ān and (of beating) the drums rose up from the army of the sultan and the voices of the bells from the Byzantine army. (Then) a strong wind blew up which blinded the eyes of the Muslims, and the army of the sultan was about to be routed. The sultan dismounted from his horse, prostrated himself before Allāh, the Almighty, and said: "O Allāh! I have put my trust in You, I have become closer to You by virtue of this jihād, I have covered my face with dust in front of You and smeared it with the blood of my heart. My eyes are overflowing with tears and the sides of my neck are stained with blood. So if You know that my innermost being is contrary to what I say with my tongue, then destroy me and all those of my companions and ghulāms who are with me. (But) if my innermost being is in accordance with my outward self, then help me in the jihād against the enemies, make me a sultan who has been helped by You and make hardships easy for me."

The sultan continued repeating this supplication

and crying until the direction of the wind reversed and the eyes of the infidels were blinded. Fate uprooted the tree of disobedience (to Allāh), crushed the transgression,²⁹⁷ (f.30a) and wiped out the banners of the Christians and "you saw the people intoxicated, but they were not."

T.p.51 The dust of the battle settled when the sun was about to set, and the Byzantine king was taken captive.²⁹⁸

The details of this (event) are that the horse of one of the ghulāms of the sultan ran away. The ghulām followed the tracks of his horse and he found a horse with reins studded with jewels, with a golden saddle on, and a man sitting beside the horse, in front of whom was a helmet made of gold and a glittering golden coat of mail. The ghulām intended to kill him, but the man said to him: "I am the Byzantine emperor (qayṣar). So do not kill me, because the killing of kings is an evil omen." So the ghulām tied his hands and dragged him to the camp of the sultan. When the Byzantine captives saw him, every one of them touched his forehead on the ground. Then a messenger came in to the presence of the sultan when the sultan was saying his sunset prayer. They (the soldiers) brought the (emperor) to the sultan (in such a way) that the ḥājibs had seized his plait and collar and were bending him to the ground to kiss it. But he

(refused) to kiss the ground before the sultan because of his being seduced by the splendour of (his) kingship and pride. So the sultan said (to them): "Leave him. It is enough for him to see this day."

Sa'd al-Dawla Gawhar-Ā'in²⁹⁹ had a mamlūk whom he had presented to wazīr Nizām al-Mulk, but he (Nizām al-Mulk) sent him back to him, did not pay any attention to him (the mamlūk) and regarded him as worthless. But he (Gawhar-Ā'in) praised him very highly to him (Nizām al-Mulk). So wazīr Nizām al-Mulk said: "What does he (Gawhar-Ā'in) want him (the mamlūk) to do? Perhaps he will (f.30b) bring us the Byzantine king, the emperor, as captive." So the occurrence took place exactly as wazīr Nizām al-Mulk had said. The ghulām came before the sultan on the day the event took place and presented the Byzantine king as captive. So he (the sultan) ordered that he (the king) should be put in fetters. The ghulām was asked what he would like and so he asked for Ghazna (to enjoy its revenues) and it was granted to him.

I heard khwāja imām Musharraḥ al-Shīrāzī, a 300 merchant, on the bank of the Oxus in front of Darghān, while we were on our way to Khwārazm, say: "I heard from my elders that when the army of sultan Alp-Arslan and the Byzantine troops fought against one another, the Byzantine king sent an envoy to the sultan and

said to him: "I have come (to fight against) you and I have with me soldiers whom you cannot face. If you are obedient to me, I will grant you lands which will be sufficient for you and you will be safe from my might and strength. If you do not do this, I have with me 300,000 horsemen and foot-soldiers and 140,000 chariots on which there are treasures of wealth and armour. None of the soldiers of the Muslims can withstand me and none of their cities and their citadels can remain closed in my face."

When the sultan heard this message, the honour of Islam overtook him and the pride of kingship rose in his heart. So he said to the envoy: "Say to your lord, verily you have not attacked me, but Allāh, to Whom be praise, has brought you to me and made you and your soldiers food for the Muslims (f.31a). So you are my prisoner and my slave and some of your soldiers will be killed by me while some will be my prisoners. All your treasures are my possessions and property. So stand firm for battle and be prepared for the fight. Soon you will see that your soldiers are necks which are driven towards their striker and your treasures are possessions which are brought to their plunderer."

The following day early in the morning a battle took place between them and everything the sultan had said happened with the help and support of Allāh." 301

When the (Byzantine) king was brought to the threshold of the sultan, he said to the interpreter: "Tell the sultan to send me to the seat of my government before the Byzantines gather around another king who might come out in the open against us to fight and wage war, to teach the lesson of hostility and open the page of rebellion, while I will be (even) more obedient to you than your slaves. I will pay you 1,000,000 dīnārs in the form of jizya every year."³⁰² So the sultan granted him his request after he (the king) had been offered for sale by the slave-traders in the markets. Then T.p.53 the sultan released him and bestowed robes of honour upon him and upon all those (Byzantine) captives who had remained with him. The king returned to his seat of government and fulfilled his promise (to the sultan).³⁰³

A letter of congratulation on (this) victory and triumph came from the commander of the Faithful, al-Qā'im bi amr Allāh, to sultan Alp-Arslan in which he addressed him (as follows): "(My) son, the lord, the honourable, the strengthened, the triumphant, the supreme sultan, the lord of the Arabs and Persians, the head of the kings of the nations, the light of dīn, the helper of the Muslims, the supporter of the imām (f.31b), the shelter of mankind, the strong arm of the sublime empire, the crown of the splendid community of the Faithful,

the sultan of the lands of the Muslims, the manifestation of the commander of the Faithful, may Allāh protect his foundation and increase his good deeds."³⁰⁴

THE MARCH OF SULTĀN AL-A'ẒAM 'ADUD
AL-DAWLA ABŪ SHUJĀ' ALP-ARSLAN B.
DĀ'ŪD B. MĪKĀ'ĪL B. SALJŪQ TOWARDS
SAMARQAND AND HIS MARTYRDOM THERE

T.p.54

The cause of the death of this magnificent sultan, who possessed great strength, was that once he marched in the beginning of the year 465 until he crossed the river Oxus on a bridge which he had built; he was accompanied by 100,000 fighting horsemen apart from the entourage of ghulāms and a large crowd and he had the intention of fighting Shams al-Mulūk Ṣāhib Tamghach.³⁰⁵ His (the sultan's) associates brought before him one of the custodians of the citadel³⁰⁶ whose name was Yūsuf al-Khwārazmī. The sultan intended to kill him on account of the crimes he had committed. So he ordered that four stakes should be fixed for him (Yūsuf) and that the extremities (of his body) should be fastened to them. (Upon this) Yūsuf said to him: "Do you kill men this way, O eunuch?" (On hearing this) the sultan flew into a rage. He took his bow and arrow and asked the guardians (who had been) appointed for him (Yūsuf) to free him. He (the

sultan) shot at him (with an arrow), but he (the sultan) missed him. He had never shot an arrow wide of the mark except this one. So Yūsuf rushed upon him, while the sultan (was sitting) on his seat. He (the sultan) got up and came down, but stumbled and fell on his face. (By the time) Yūsuf had reached him and he fell upon the sultan and stabbed him in the waist with a knife. Sa'd al-Dawla Gawhar-Ā'in was (also) standing there. Yūsuf inflicted upon the sultan several (f.32a) wounds and did not let up. (But then) an Armenian farrāsh³⁰⁷ (of the sultan) caught Yūsuf and struck him on his head with a mallet and killed him. Then the Turks (also) reached and cut him (Yūsuf) into pieces with their swords.

The sultan said (to his men): "I have never set out to achieve an aim and never intended (to fight) an enemy without (always) seeking the support of Allāh against him. But yesterday, when I climbed up the hill, the earth trembled under me because of the greatness of my army and I said to myself, I am the king of the world. Nobody can dominate me. So His Divine decree has deserted me. (But now) I seek His help and beg His forgiveness for that thought."

The sultan remained alive for three days after this incident. He died on a Saturday at the end of Rabī' I during the year 465. His reign lasted

for 10 years.

His sons were Malik-Shāh, Tekish, Ayaz, Bōri-Bars and Arslan-Arghun.

He was (a man of) good character and strong determination. He was pious, just, fair-minded and triumphant in his wars. He fought many ghazws and jihāds.

He used to slaughter 50 head of sheep daily, cook food and feed the poor every day. This was in addition to the amount usually fixed for the amīrs and the army.

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He willed his sultanate to his son Malik-Shāh.

His life span was 40 years and two months.³⁰⁸

He was buried at Marw near the (tombs of) his father and uncle. He advised his wazīr Nizām al-Mulk to be obedient to his son Malik-Shāh. He made him (the wazīr) take an oath (of obedience) to him (Malik-Shāh) and made his soldiers (also) take the (same) oath.³⁰⁹

THE REIGN OF SULTĀN AL-A'ẒAM JALĀL

AL-DAWLA ABU'L FATH MALIK-SHĀH B.

ALP-ARSLAN B. DĀ'ŪD B. MĪKĀ'ĪL B. SALJŪQ

(f.32b) He, may the mercy of Allāh be upon him, was ^{the} pearl of the Saljūq maliks.³¹⁰ He was well-known for his skill in administration and for his firm control of the regions of the world.³¹¹

Allāh gave him (territories) to an extent that He did not give to any of the maliks among his predecessors or successors.

One of his greatest good fortunes was that he did not accompany his father on any campaign except on the one in which he (his father) was killed. His father lingered on until he had bequeathed his army to him and made them take an oath of allegiance to him. (Then) Sultān al-A'zam Malik-Shāh returned to Marw and took the reins of the kingdom in his hands.³¹² The maliks of the outlying regions declared their obedience to him and received from him the assistance and kindness they needed. He (also) wrote a letter to his uncle Qawurt b. malik Dā'ūd (in tones) which would delight the heart and remove sorrow.

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Sharaf al-Mulk Abū Sa'd al-Mustawfī al-Khwārazmī said to Nizām al-Mulk: "It would be better and more appropriate to stay in Nīshāpūr since it is the key link in the chain of Khurāsān and (was) the camp of the past kings and the family of Sāmān."³¹⁴ So the sultan arrived in Nīshāpūr on Friday, the 16th of the month of Rabī' II in the year 465. Sultān al-A'zam Malik-Shāh took out great riches from the citadel of Nīshāpūr with which he won over the hearts of the amīrs and his entourage.

(On the other hand) when the news of the death of his brother sultan Alp-Arslan reached malik

Qawurt's ear, he set out from Oman towards Kirmān and crossed (f.33a) the river. Several ships were broken and many (of his) soldiers perished (during the crossing). Then he wrote to sultan Malik-Shāh: "I am the elder brother (of Alp-Arslan) and you are (his) youthful son. So I have a greater right to the inheritance of my brother sultan Alp-Arslan than you have." Sultan Malik-Shāh replied, saying: "A brother cannot (claim) inheritance when there is a son." Amīr Tamīrāl (Temūr-Aq?) b. amīr Farrukh-Shāh (also) wrote to Qawurt, the malik of Kirmān, saying: "Your power, rank, your conquest (of the countries) and your strength should not mislead you. Allāh, the Almighty has brought our hearts together in obedience to your nephew. So do not accept idle talk from the mischievous elements of your army and be aware that the chick cannot withstand the cock." Wazīr Nizām al-Mulk (too) wrote malik Qawurt (a letter consisting of) counsel and words of advice which would guide him to the right path and make clear for him the proper thing to do. But the sultan was bent upon fighting Qawurt.³¹⁵ So he saddled (his horse), rode (on the path of) enmity and bridled (his horse).

Malik Qawurt set out towards Isfahān while sultan Malik-Shāh towards Rayy. The commander amīr Saw-Tegin attacked the vanguard of malik Qawurt. He routed them and scattered them. The

two armies met on the outskirts of Hamadān³¹⁶ on
T.p.57 Wednesday, 26th of Jumādā I in the year 466.³¹⁷

On the right wing of the sultan was amīr Saw-Tegin while on the left wing there was TMRāk (Temūr-Aq?). (On the other side) malik Qawurt had seven sons of whom some stood on his right side and some on his left while some (remained) with their father in the centre (of their army).

Malik Qawurt assumed that when (f.33b) the army of his brother sultan Alp-Arslan saw him they would submit to him (deserting the sultan). But when things turned out in the opposite way, he repented in the same way that Kusa'iyiyy repented.³¹⁸ So the amīr of the Arab (troops) Muslim b. Quraysh³¹⁹ with his entourage attacked the left wing of malik Qawurt and the army of Kirmān was routed. Amīr Tamīrāk (Temūr-Aq?) caught malik Qawurt in the mountains of Hamadān. Malik Qawurt promised him iqṭā's and riches (to effect his escape) but amīr Tamīrāl (Temūr-Aq?) said to him: "You are the lord and we the slaves. So we are not in the position to make a decision in your case according to our wishes. So come along with me to the presence of the sultan, because he is the one who has the authority to make decisions." So malik Qawurt was taken to the sultan. Then sultan Malik-Shāh came out. When his procession and the royal insignia (chatr) appeared, malik Qawurt

dismounted and touched the ground with his forehead and rolled himself in the dust before the sultan. Kinship lit the fire of mercy in the heart of the sultan³²⁰ and his eyes were moistened with tears. He said to wazīr Nizām al-Mulk: "I shall not cut kinship and shall not disregard family ties. A man's uncle is like his father." Wazīr Nizām al-Mulk said to him: "Kingship recognises no family ties."³²¹ He (Qawurt) looks at you with an eye which considers your existence to be a mote in it and befriends you only with a heart which harbours uneasiness because of your authority. If he triumphed over you, mercy and kinship would never influence him in your favour." So the sultan said to him: "Is there any worse bargain on the surface of the earth than a person who cuts his right hand with his left and who kills his uncle (f.34a) who is like a father to him." So malik Qawurt was confined to the tent of amīr Saw-Tegin.

Then 'amīd Abu'l-Ridā came to him (Qawurt) and asked him for the keys of the open treasures and the signs of the hidden treasures. Malik Qawurt said (to him): "The lands of Kirmān have shrunk their limits. Their revenues are small and their inhabitants are sick. All the riches and treasures I have there are a present from me to one of the ghulāms of the sultan. Release me so that I may go to the lands of Oman and be an

obedient uncle and kind father to him. I know that I have lost my honour and I cannot recover it."³²² This message was (however) not communicated to the sultan lest he should set him free and they strangled him.³²³

The sultan fasted in the month of Ramaḍān this year at Iṣfahān. He distributed a great amount of money among poor and pious persons and set prisoners free. He handed over the province of Fārs to amīr Rukn al-Dawla Qutlugh-Tegin³²⁴ and the countries of Oman and Kirmān to the sons of malik Qawurt.³²⁵ He (also) bestowed robes of honour upon them which delighted them and won over their hearts.

Then the sultan returned to Rayy where the news from Balkh of his brother Ayaz's death came to him. So the sultan bestowed a robe of honour upon his (another) brother Shihāb al-Dawla malik Tekish and gave him authority over Balkh and Tūkhāristān.

During this period messengers from sultan Ibrāhīm, the ruler of Ghazna arrived (to Rayy) bringing with them (many) presents and gifts and asked for the hand of the daughter of sultan Malik-Shāh in marriage. The request was granted according to their wish and his daughter Gūhar-Mulk, who had the title of (f.34b) Mahd al-'Irāq was married to sultan Mas'ūd b. Ibrāhīm. She was

given this title because the sultan sent her from Rayy to Ghazna.³²⁶

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After this the sultan set out from Rayy to Jurjān. But then a messenger came to his presence on behalf of his uncle whose title was Amīr al-Umarā' and communicated his (uncle's) desire and yearning to see him and his wish to talk to him, saying: "If he (the sultan) rode towards us with the wings of the wind, he would appreciate the night journey in the morning." So the sultan set out towards Sarakhs and Badghīs.³²⁷ Then the Amīr al-Umarā' whose name was 'Uthmān b. malik Dā'ūd came to the presence of the sultan and intended to kiss the ground (before him), but the hājibs prevented him from doing so. Then the sultan came down off his throne, embraced him and made him sit beside him on the throne. The sultan treated him with great respect and handed over the province of Walwālij to him, addressed him as Malik al-Mu'ayyid Rukn al-Dīn, allowed him the honour of beating the drum (nawba) and granted him black insignia.

He appointed his brother Bōri-Bars as the lord of Herat, the outskirts of Ghūr and Gharjistān (Charchistān).³²⁸

The khāqān³²⁹ wrote a letter to sultan Malik-Shāh which had two flavours - one pleasant and the other bitter. The essence of the letter was

that "as the town of Tirmidh and its citadel belonged to Transoxiana, it should therefore be administered by the Qarakhānid wālīs.³³⁰ This will confirm the cordial relations and strengthen the bonds of friendship for the sake of which many desired things can be offered and through which many advantages can be achieved." But amongst (the contents) of this letter there was a (threatening) sentence which gave the impression on the contrary, of presenting a trial of strength³³¹ (f.35a). So Sulṭān al-A'ẓam Malik-Shāh set out with troops under whom the earth almost trembled until he reached Balkh where the notables and the most eminent of the leading sayyids welcomed him. They complained of the oppression of the Qarakhānids and told him that they had continually faced devastating raids and random acts (of violence) from the army of Transoxiana and that they (the Qarakhānids) were a people who frequently caused harm by infringing treaties and breaking agreements.

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In the meantime a messenger arrived (giving) the tidings of the birth of the son of the sultan about whom the observations of astrology foretold that he would rule the world from one end of it to the other. The sultan wished to honour his grandfather by naming his son as Muḥammad Alp-Arslan. (He was the one) who was called sultan Muḥammad.

Then an envoy of the khāqān came with a mace which weighed 50 manns and with a sword which was 10 manns in weight and said: "O sultan: the khāqān says to you, we fight, or rather play, with this sword which penetrates and goes deep when it strikes a coat of mail and with this mace which does not differentiate between armour made of iron and a harvested crop." (Hearing this) the sultan remained silent for a while and (then) ordered the leaders of the army to be summoned. He (then) rode into the desert, took the mace and turned it seven times round his head and then threw it 80 steps away. Then he took the sword and struck it on the neck of a she-camel, which dislocated its joints. Then he fetched a bow and fired it at her and said to the envoy: "Say to the khāqān, you have your mace and we have our cudgel and the sword is for you while the bow is for us." He sent him the bow in the hand of his envoy and despatched with him Nūsh-Tegin al-Mu'ammari (f.35b). When al-Mu'ammari reached the outskirts of Samarqand, an unruly horse was presented to him from amongst the riding animals of the khāqān. Whoever (tried) to ride this horse was killed by it. But al-Mu'ammari (successfully) rode it and kept it to the ground. He reached the palace of the khāqān unhurt and delivered the message. Then he put the bow in front of the khāqān. But the khāqān failed

to string it, let alone to shoot (an arrow) from it. He felt ashamed as an impotent man is ashamed in front of beautiful girls. He sent his brother to the citadel of Tirmidh where he fortified himself.

T.p.61 In Muḥarram of the year 467, the sultan accompanied by wazīr Nizām al-Mulk set out towards Tirmidh. (On reaching there) the rabble of the army engulfed the trench and fixed catapults on the citadel. The inhabitants of the citadel asked for peace. So the sultan granted them safe-conduct. But two ghulāms squabbled about the collecting of arrows after the embers of the war had been extinguished. So war broke out once again and manifested to them its horrifying marks. They took the inhabitants of the citadel as captives and yoked them together in fetters. Then the sultan granted them forgiveness and set them free. The citadel returned to the control of Sulṭān al-A'zam Malik-Shāh. Then he bestowed robes of honour upon the two brothers of the khāqān and advised the commander amīr Saw-Tegin to repair the citadel and fortify it.

Then amīr Mīkā'il set out as (the commander of) the vanguard of the army of the sultan and encamped on the road to Samarqand. The khāqān took refuge in his seat of government, empty-handed, like a flint which could not produce a spark.

The sultan returned to Balkh and appointed his brother malik Shihāb al-Dawla Tekish as the amīr of Khurāsān (f.36a) and set out himself towards Rayy.³³²

THE DEATH OF THE COMMANDER OF THE
FAITHFUL AL-QĀ'IM BI AMR ALLĀH ON
THE 12TH OF SHA'BĀN IN THE YEAR 467

The period of his caliphate lasted for 44 years, 8 months and 28 days. His life spanned 75 years, 8 months and 8 days.³³³

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His wazīrs: (First) Ra'īs al-Ru'asā' Abu'l-Qāsim b. al-Muslima acted as wazīr for him. But Arslan al-Basāsīrī killed him as we have mentioned before. Then he appointed Fakhr al-Dawla Abū Naṣr Muḥammad b. Jahīr³³⁴ as his wazīr.

His biography: He, may Allāh be pleased with him, was a knowledgeable man, interested in literature, patient, kind, of sound faith, guileless, learned, just, pious and one who greatly feared Allāh, the Almighty. Some of the verses of al-Qā'im bi (amr) Allāh are as follows:

"May white and continuously pouring
clouds water our nights on the tops
of the hills.
We kept vigil according to the
traditions of lovers and told those
things which Allāh does not like to
continue sleeping.

What fear have I of appearing in public when the Lord of mankind knows (everything about me)."

He appointed al-Muqtadī (as his successor) who was Abu'l-Qāsim 'Ubayd Allāh b. al-Dhakhīra Muḥammad b. al-Qā'im b. al-Qādir b. Ishāq b. al-Muqtadir b. al-Mu'tadid. His mother was an Armenian slave girl. The pledge of allegiance for him as caliph was taken on the day his grandfather al-Qā'im bi amr Allāh passed away. So the amīrs, the dignitaries and the notables declared their allegiance to him. Then he came out and led the people in the 'aṣr prayer. Then the coffin of his grandfather was brought. He offered prayer over him and buried him in the apartment which was reserved for his private use (f.36b). The caliphate of al-Muqtadī bi amr Allāh became stable and his authority grew powerful. Baghdad flourished during his time and returned to its original position. The khutba was read in his name in the Yemen, Syria and Jerusalem. The Muslims took back al-Ruhā (Edessa) and Antioch from the hands of the Byzantines. Al-Muqtadī was (a man) of great aspirations, awe-inspiring and courageous. The dignity of the caliphate was established because of the awe he instilled.

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THE ACCOUNT OF THE REBELLION OF MALIK
SHIHĀB AL-DAWLA TEKISH B. ALP-ARSLAN
B. DĀ'ŪD B. MĪKĀ'ĪL B. SALJŪQ

Then the sultan returned to Murghāb Herat³³⁵ in the year 467. The Amīr al-'Umarā' and his relatives wanted to see him. (On their arrival) the wazīr and (other) notables of the government welcomed them and (then) the sultan bestowed robes of honour upon them. Malik Shihāb al-Dawla Tekish also paid a visit to the presence of the sultan and received robes of honour and enormous respect on account of the blood-relationship (between them). He (then) returned to Balkh.

Then the sultan ordered amīr Saw-Tegin to set out as (the commander of) the vanguard of the army towards Balkh because of another attempt by the khāqān, Shams al-Mulk, at fanning the flames of estrangement and committing hostilities.³³⁶ He advanced very fast and the two armies met on the bank of the river Oxus. The khāqān Shams al-Mulk captured the citadel of Tirmidh where he killed the isbahbadh³³⁷ of Kabūd-Jāma.³³⁸ But (later) once again the citadel was opened for the entourage of the sultan and the Qarakhānids were defeated. They could not find a way to flee. Then the sultan (himself) (f.37a) set out towards Shams al-Mulk and their (camp-) fires appeared opposite each other

in the vicinity of Nakhshab.³³⁹ Shihāb al-Dawla Tekish (once again) came to the presence of the sultan and restrengthened promises and treaties. After this the sultan returned to Rayy,³⁴⁰ intending to go to Syria and the Turks entered Antioch.³⁴¹

On the arrival of the sultan in the territory of Arrān³⁴² and Abkhāz, the envoy of the Byzantine king came (to pay a visit to him) bringing with him riches, the heavy weight of which had tired the treasurer and the treasury (dīwān) had become overfilled by the (maintenance of) its account.

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Then the sultan returned to the town of Aleppo. But (back in Khurāsān) malik Shihāb al-Dawla Tekish had deserted him and Satan had deluded him into rebellion (against him) and into choosing the path of enmity.³⁴³ (On becoming aware of this) the sultan traversed the distance between Aleppo and Nishāpūr in 10 days. (On this occasion) only 100 horsemen had remained with him. Malik Shihāb al-Dawla Tekish barricaded himself in Tirmidh. But the sultan brought him down from it. Allāh gave him (Tekish) his deserts and hastened his death. So that citadel was conquered three times at the hand of sultan Malik-Shāh.³⁴⁴

THE BIRTH OF SULṬĀN AL-A'ẒAM MU'IZZ
AL-DUNYĀ WA'L-DĪN ABU'L-ḤĀRITH SANJAR
B. MALIK-SHĀH B. ALP-ARSLAN B. DĀ'UD
B. MĪKĀ'IL B. SALJŪQ, THE RIGHT HAND
(YAMĪN) OF THE COMMANDER OF THE FAITHFUL

He was born in Rajab in the year 477 on Friday,³⁴⁵
on the 25th day of the month in the town of Sinjār³⁴⁶
in the lands of al-Jazīra.³⁴⁷

It has been found in some books on the authority
of Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān, may Allāh be pleased with
him, attributed to the Prophet of Allāh, may the
blessing and peace of Allāh be upon him, that he
said: "(f.37b) A man will appear at the end of
time and will make for the bank of the river Oxus.
He will march out of the east accompanied by a
tremendous army and will defeat the lord of Khurāsān
and the Turks.....³⁴⁸ He will be a brown-skinned
man, having a big belly, big head and stentorian
voice and will have one or two marks of smallpox
on his right hand. He will dominate Khurāsān. His
name will be like the name of a town in al-Jazīra.
He will encamp at Marw and his horsemen and foot-
soldiers will seize him. He will defeat kings,
but then large troops which will come from the
east and China will subdue him. After this his
authority will become weak and a state of chaos
will (break out) in Khurāsān after his death."

THE MARCH OF SULTĀN AL-A'ZAM JALĀL
AL-DAWLA ABU'L-FATH MALIK-SHĀH B. ALP-
ARSLAN TOWARDS TRANSOXIANA ONCE AGAIN

The khāqān, Shams al-Mulk,³⁴⁹ made things worse for himself. His desires misled him and delusion led him astray. So the sultan marched towards Transoxiana in the months of the year 481 and encamped on the outskirts of Kāshghar.³⁵⁰

The Byzantine envoy had come bringing with him the jizya while the sultan was (still) at Iṣfahān. Nizām al-Mulk entertained the envoy (at Iṣfahān). (But) he did not grant his wishes and did not let him return to his country until the sultan stopped at the gate of Kāshghar. Then wazīr Nizām al-Mulk allowed the Byzantine envoy (to return) and said: "It must be mentioned in the chronicles that the Byzantine envoy returned from the gate of Kāshghar after attending on the sultan, having made the payment of (the amount of) the jizya."³⁵¹

T.p.66 (f.38a) Then the khāqān of Kāshghar³⁵² sent an envoy to the sultan with (many) gifts and presents and implored the sultan for forgiveness and pardon and asked the messenger to say to the sultan: "The days have bowed down their necks before you and the countries have made open their gates for you. So it would not harm you if one of the old ruling families remained (in power) in the world. And

if your opinion considers it proper, then may one of the daughters of your slaves marry one of your sons. We are your slaves and servants." So wazīr Nizām al-Mulk said to the sultan: "The khāqān has done justice in respect to you and has produced proof of his speaking the truth." Then the khāqān himself paid a visit to the sultan and kissed the ground in front of (his) throne. (In response) the khāqān received beneficence and kindness, the account of which remains on the pages of history. Then he returned to his dominion being honoured and distinguished.³⁵³

THE DEATH OF WAZĪR NIZĀM AL-MULK QAWĀM
AL-DĪN KHWĀJA BUZURG ABŪ 'ALĪ AL-ḤASAN
B. 'ALĪ B. IṢHĀQ, THE FAVOURITE (RADĪ)
OF THE COMMANDER OF THE FAITHFUL

When Ḥasan b. Ṣabbāḥ³⁵⁴ took refuge in the citadel of Alamūt,³⁵⁵ Nizām al-Mulk blocked the road of this citadel with his soldiers after the mischief (fitna) of Ibn Ṣabbāḥ increased, its evil spread and its harm became extensive. Two men came out of the citadel with their horseshoes in reversed shape. The army which had besieged the citadel assumed that the two men had entered the citadel. (During this) Nizām al-Mulk came out of the bathroom and (while) he was sitting in the sedan, one of those two men came up to him near

T.p.67 his dining table pretending to be a plaintiff. He stabbed him with a dagger and ran away but he stumbled (f.38b) on the ropes of the pavilion and (the soldiers) killed him.

Nizām al-Mulk had remained wazīr for 27 years. His assassination took place on Saturday night on the 10th of Ramaḍān in the year 485³⁵⁶ at the hand of the Bāṭinīs.³⁵⁷

The cause of his murder was that Tāj al-Mulk Abu'l-Ghanā'im³⁵⁸ who was in charge of the treasury of the sultan Malik-Shāh and the administrator of his domestic affairs and the wazīr of his sons, poisoned the sultan's mind against wazīr Nizām al-Mulk. So the sultan showed his annoyance with him and decided to dismiss him. But he could not carry out his plan because of the inclination of the regular and auxiliary soldiers ('asākir wa'l ajnād) towards him (Nizām). Wazīr Nizām al-Mulk had more than 20,000 mamlūks. When they (Tāj al-Mulk and the sultan) found themselves unable to carry out their action against him, they caused a man from Daylam³⁵⁹ to pounce upon him in the guise of a beggar, who stabbed him with a dagger, as has been mentioned.

(After the death of Nizām al-Mulk) the sultan and Tāj al-Mulk assumed that (now) the world was clear for them. But (ironically) there was a gap of (only) 36 days between (the death of) the sultan

and of Nizām al-Mulk while there was a gap of (only) two months between the (death of) Tāj al-Mulk and him. Tāj al-Mulk (always) remained terrified during this period and it was not very long before the ghulāms of wazīr Nizām al-Mulk caught and killed him.

Some of the slanders spread by Tāj al-Mulk against Nizām al-Mulk were that he told the sultan that Nizām al-Mulk spent 300,000 dīnārs on faqīhs and ṣūfīs and qārīs each year and if an army had been levied by (spending) this amount, it could have struck the gate of Constantinople. The sultan summoned the wazīr Nizām al-Mulk and asked him to explain the real position. So he said: (f.39a)

"O sultan of the world, and king of the earth, I am an old man. If a bid were made on me, my price would not exceed three dīnārs. And you are a young man. If a bid were made on you, your price would not exceed 100 dīnārs. Allāh, the Almighty, has bestowed upon you and upon me by virtue of you that which He has not given to anyone of your subjects. So will you not protect His dīn and guard His dear Book by spending (only) 300,000 dīnārs in return for this? Moreover you (already) spend double that amount every year on (your) fighting troops, although the strongest one of them and the best marksman amongst them cannot throw his arrow even one mile away and his sword can strike only the one who is near to him, while

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with this amount of money I equip an army for you by whose prayers an arrow will reach the throne of Allāh ('arsh) and nothing can prevent it from (reaching) Allāh." (Hearing this) the sultan burst into tears and said to wazīr Nizām al-Mulk: "Multiply this kind of army. (The spending of) the funds is at your disposal and riches are in front of you."

Nizām al-Mulk (always) used to be well-prepared when he decided to undertake any action. He assigned iqtā's³⁶⁰ (valued at) 1,000 dīnārs to every soldier, half of which were on the outskirts of Samarqand and half in the Byzantine lands. Not a single dirham was withheld from it.

He was the first who granted iqtā's to the Turks, he founded the Nizāmiyya colleges in all the towns of Persian and Arab Iraq and Khurāsān and completed the construction of the Nizāmiyya (college) at Baghdad at the hand of Abū Sa'd, the sūfī,³⁶² in the year 468. Imām Abū Ishāq al-Shīrazī³⁶³ taught there until he died when seven days of Jumādā II had passed in the year 476. Then Nizām al-Mulk put Abū Naṣr b. al-Ṣabbāgh³⁶⁴ in charge of it until he died (as well).

(f.39b) Nizām al-Mulk had (a group) of intimate friends who assisted him in organising administrative affairs. One of them was Kamāl al-Dīn Abu'l-Riḍā Faḍl Allāh b. Muḥammad, who was

in charge of the dīwān al-inshā'.³⁶⁵ He was very close to the sultan and the sultan would not separate him from himself and would not live without him even for a moment. One day he delayed (visiting the sultan), so the sultan wrote to him in Turkish, the meaning of which was: "You are not affected by absence from me but I am (certainly) affected by your absence from me, because you find intimate friendship without me while I do not find intimate friendship without you."³⁶⁶

(Another of his intimate friends) was khwājā Sharaf al-Mulk³⁶⁷ who was in charge of the dīwān ishrāf al-mamālik.³⁶⁸ 'Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī³⁶⁹ has reported that this Sharaf al-Mulk possessed 360 costly, beautiful, perfect suits of clothes which were different from each other and set apart according to the number of the days of the year. So he used to wear different kinds of outfits every day which would accord with the days of the four seasons. When he gave away one of them or donated it, his treasurer would bring to the treasury a replacement for what had gone.³⁷⁰

He built on the tomb of Abū Ḥanīfa at bāb al-ṭāq a shrine and a college for his associates. Al-Sharīf al-Bayādī wrote (the following verses) on the dome he had built:

"Do you not see that this knowledge
has been scattered?

So the man who is buried in this grave has gathered it together. Likewise this piece of land was dead and the aspiration of 'amīd Abū Sa'd revived it.

'Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, may the mercy of Allāh be upon him, has (further) mentioned in his work Nuṣrāt al-fatrah that (once) sultan Malik-Shāh sent Tāj al-Mulk, the one already mentioned, to (f.40a) wazīr Nizām al-Mulk with a letter, the contents of which were (as follows):

"You have seized my dominion and have shared out my lands amongst your sons and sons-in-law and mamlūks as if you were an equal partner in the sovereignty. Do you want me to command that the inkstand of your wizāra should be withdrawn from you and that the people should be freed from your arrogance."

So Nizām al-Mulk said to Tāj al-Mulk: "Tell our lord, the sultan (on my behalf): 'May Allāh keep you in power for ever. Only today you have become aware that I am your co-equal and partner in the (affairs of the) empire. You must know that my inkstand is bound up with your crown. When you withdraw (my) inkstand (your) crown will also be withdrawn and when you snatch (my) inkstand, (your)

T.p.70 crown will also be snatched.'" ('Imād al-Dīn) commented that he spoke in accordance with what

was already laid down by Divine decree (qadar) for there was not (a gap of) more than one month between the death of wazīr Nizām al-Mulk and the sultan.³⁷¹

When sultan Malik-Shāh crossed the river Oxus, Nizām al-Mulk signed over payment to the boatmen on the basis of money at Antioch. The sultan argued with him regarding this matter. So he (Nizām) said (to him): "I wanted the greatness of your empire and the vastness of your authority to be written down in the history books. The deputy (nā'ib) at Antioch had come to bid farewell to you. You will give him the vouchers and take the money from him for the boatmen." So the sultan was pleased with (that suggestion) from Nizām al-Mulk.³⁷²

The virtues of the wazīr Nizām al-Mulk are innumerable. I have seen a work which was compiled by some notables of his reign which provides (a description) of his sound character. The work comprised (the anecdotes about) his sound faith, noble nature, justice and forgiving personality and his concern for the hardships of needy people. (An anecdote) has been related about him that once a beggar came to him and waited at his gate. He had with him a big leather bucket (in his hands). When the wazīr Nizām al-Mulk came back after (having paid a) visit to sultan Malik-Shāh (f.40b) the beggar stood up and said to him: "I have learnt that you like poor people and claim friend-

ship with them. But I will not believe your claim until you fill my leather bucket with gold." The wazīr Nizām al-Mulk found the bucket too big. So he began talking to the beggar in a friendly manner and asking him for forgiveness while the beggar kept insisting that he would not accept a bag and would return only with a (full) bucket. So the wazīr Nizām al-Mulk ordered his treasurer to pour all the gold in the treasury into the bucket. This he did. But it did not become (even) half-full. So he ordered his wife and the (whole) family to pour all their ornaments into the bucket and they kept on bringing (their ornaments) until the bucket became full and the beggar could not move it. So the wazīr Nizām al-Mulk commanded (his men) to carry it with him. Then the beggar shouted and said:

T.p.71 "O, Nizām al-Mulk. I intended to try you out, for what is gold to a beggar?" (Then) the beggar went on his way. So the wazīr Nizām al-Mulk ordered someone to search for him. But he could not find him nor could he trace his tracks. So the wazīr Nizām al-Mulk spent the riches on benevolence and charities. May the mercy of Allāh, the Almighty, be on him.³⁷³

Shibl al-Dawla Abu'l Hayjā' al-Bakrī³⁷⁴ lamented wazīr Nizām al-Mulk, may the mercy of Allāh, the Almighty, be on him (as follows):

"Wazīr Nizām al-Mulk was a hidden pearl which was cut by the merciful God out of nobility. It (the pearl) came to the surface, but time did not discover its worth. So He returned it to its oyster out of jealousy (for its value)."

THE DEATH OF SULTĀN AL-A'ẒAM JALĀL
AL-DUNYĀ WA'L-DĪN (f.41a) ABU'L-
FATH MALIK-SHĀH B. ALP-ARSLAN B.
DĀ'ŪD B. MĪKĀ'ĪL B. SALJŪQ

When the sultan left Iṣfahān and set out towards Madinat al-Salām (Baghdad), he fell ill. His illness did not last long before he died on 16th Shawwāl in the year 485. His life spanned 30 years, 3 months and 27 days. His reign lasted for 17 years and some months. He was buried near the grave of his father at Marw.³⁷⁵

Sultan Malik-Shāh possessed lands which never came under (the possession of) any of his predecessors or successors.

He had granted to his mamlūks the authority over the world. So he sent his ghulām Bursuq³⁷⁶ towards Byzantium, who oppressed (its populace) until he had levied on them 300,000 dīnārs for the sultan and 30,000 dīnārs for himself which the Byzantine king would pay as tribute.³⁷⁷

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Malik-Shāh himself set out towards Syria and

then to Constantinople. He besieged it and levied (on its populace) 1,000,000 gold dīnārs. He also captured Konya, Aqsarāyī,³⁷⁸ Kayseri and all the other towns and appointed malik Rukn al-Dīn Sulaymān b. Qutlumush b. Isrā'īl b. Saljūq over them. Then he conquered Antioch and entrusted it to him.³⁷⁹ He sent his brother malik Tāj al-Dawla Tutush b. Alp-Arslan towards Damascus and assigned to him the task of conquering Egypt and al-Maghrib. So he seized Damascus from Iqsīs (Atsīz)³⁸⁰ and killed him. He behaved very well there. He captured most of Syria, but died before attaining his goal in Egypt. (f.41b) Sultan Malik-Shāh had commanded his two ghulāms Qasīm al-Dawla Aq-Sonqur,³⁸¹ the lord of Aleppo, and Bozan, the lord of al-Ruhā (Edessa) to be obedient to him.

He deputed Sa'd al-Dawla Gawhar-Ā'In to conquer the Yemen. So he sent an army there on his behalf and appointed Tirsek as its commander. He captured most of the Yemen and died there. His life spanned 70 years. He was replaced by Yūrūn-Qush, the friend of Qutlugh, the leader of the pilgrims to Mecca.³⁸²

Sultan Malik-Shāh penetrated further into the lands of the kharkāwāt (Khargāwāt)³⁸³ till Surkhāb, the lord of Ṭarāz³⁸⁴ came and paid allegiance to him. Then he mobilised his army from Rayy and marched towards Transoxiana. He came to Samarqand and besieged it. He defeated its ruler and took

him as captive.³⁸⁵ The town fell into his hands. The ruler of the town was (then) carried to the place of the throne of the sultan with his entourage in front of him. During this campaign the king of the pagan Turks whose name was Ya'qūb b. B.QAYLN T.p.73 (? Bulqa-Tegin?) also paid allegiance to him and accompanied him to Iṣfahān. Then the sultan sent him back to his lands having honoured him.³⁸⁶

Then the sultan happened to traverse the territory of Arrān. He sent a message to Shirwān-Shāh,³⁸⁷ the lord of the lands of Shirwān,³⁸⁸ so he surrendered to him and fixed upon himself 70,000 dīnārs every year which he would take (to the sultan).

Sultan Malik-Shāh was the best marksman of all the people and his arrow never missed (its target). He was (also) the best lance-thrower of all the people. He was very fond of hunting (as well). Once he ordered that all the heads he and his mamlūks had killed should be counted and they were 10,000 in number. So he commanded that 10,000 dīnārs should be given in charity saying: "I fear Allāh, the Almighty when I shed the blood of an animal without any necessity." It was he who built a tower of horns on the way to Mecca from Baghdad. (It was built) with the horns and hooves of the animals he had killed.

One of the amusing anecdotes about him with regard to justice is that (once) one of his notable

mamlūks passed by a poor man who possessed a water-melon and he wanted to make a profit from it, but it was not the season of water-melons. So he (the mamlūk) took it from him forcibly without paying him the price and the poor man went and called on sultan Malik-Shāh. The sultan asked him if he knew his wrong-doer. But he did not know. So the sultan summoned all the mamlūks. When they had all assembled, the sultan said to them: "I feel an appetite for a water-melon, but it is not the season for it. So is there anyone among you who can get one for me?" The defendant of this man (at once) said: "O lord, I possess a water-melon, which none (of us) can have." So the sultan ordered that he should be arrested. Then the sultan called the man who recognised him and the sultan told the man that he (the defendant) was his mamlūk and that he had given it to him, so he (now) should take him. So the man took him and went away. Then the mamlūk bought himself from him for 300 dīnārs. The man came back to the sultan and said (to him): "O my lord, I have sold the mamlūk you gave me, for 300 dīnārs." The sultan said: "Are you pleased with the amount?" He replied: "Yes." So the sultan said (to him): "Take the money and go under the protection of Allāh, the Almighty." So he took the money and went on his way.

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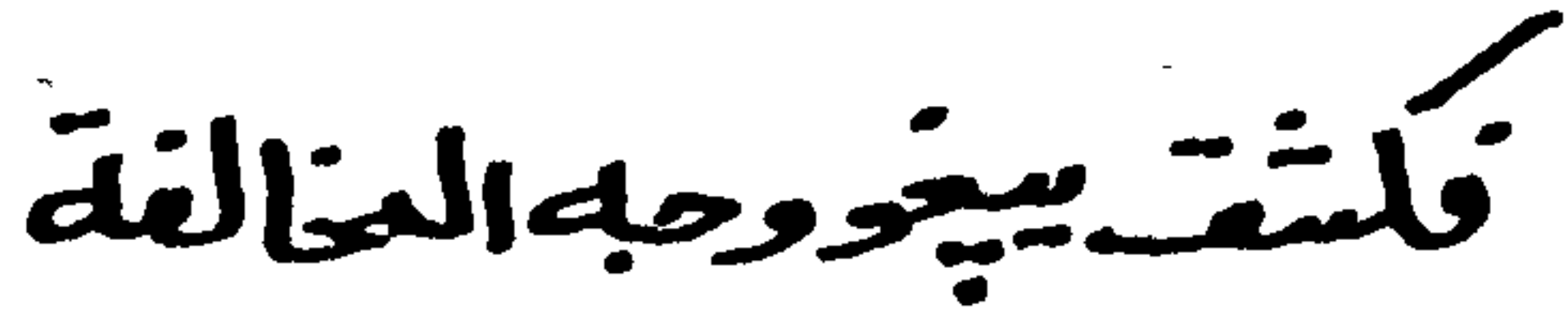

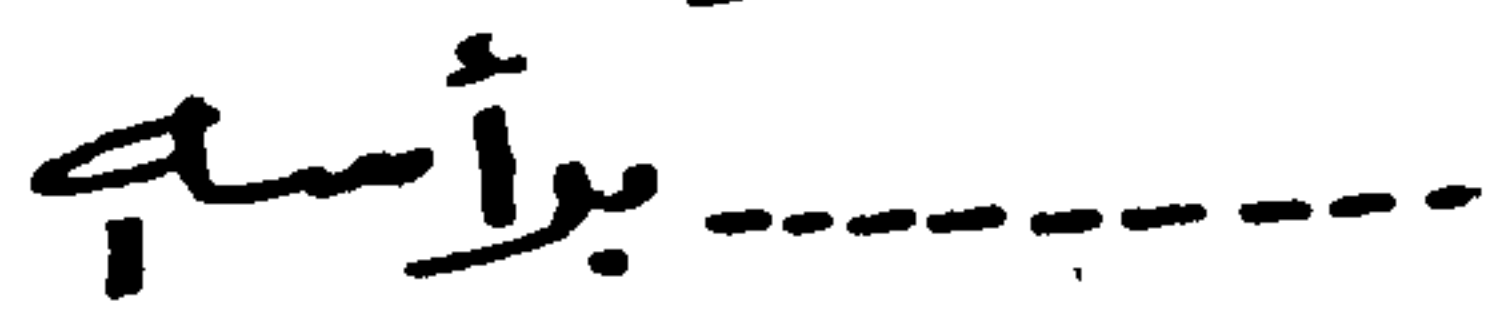
Once in Ṭūs the sultan entered the shrine of

'Alī b. Mūsā al-Riḍā, may Allāh be pleased with them both, for a pilgrimage. His wazīr Nizām al-Mulk was also accompanying him (on this occasion). So the sultan said to him: "O Ḥasan! What did you pray for?" He said (to the sultan): "I prayed that Allāh, the Almighty, may give you triumph over your brother Tekish." This was during the period when he (Tekish) had rebelled and was engaged in fighting against the sultan. So the sultan said (to Nizām al-Mulk): "I did not pray for this. But I said: 'O Allāh, if my brother is better (for the welfare) of the Muslims, then give him victory over me and if I am better for them, then give me triumph over him.'"

(f.42b) Sultan Malik-Shāh had pure motives in doing good deeds. (During his reign) the roads became safe and agriculture flourished. People were terrified of him and were inspired by extreme awe of him. He uprooted oppression and made sure that justice was done to the oppressed. He (was always willing) to listen to a woman, the weak and the oppressed, and would not turn his face away until he had fulfilled their desires.³⁸⁹

He left behind sons. They were Abu'l-Muzaffar Rukn al-Dīn Berk-Yaruq, Ghīyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad, Abu'l-Ḥārith Sanjar and Maḥmūd, who was the youngest of them.

NOTES

1. The name has, as the editor notes, variant forms such as Tuqaq, Duqaq. Cf. IA, IX, 321, 322. Nish, 10, and Raw, 88, have Luqmān, which is unlikely. See also C. Cahen, "Le Malik-Nameh et l'Histoire des Origines Seljukides", Oriens II (1949) 41-2.
2. IA, IX, 322 has Bayghu, which is inappropriate here. Yabghu seems to be the title rather than the original name of the "king of the Ghuzz (Oghuz) Turks". See Ibn Faḍlān, Risāla, ed. Sāmī al-Dahān, (Damascus, 1959), 101; Ghaznavids, 210, 219-20; Iranian World, 16-7; On the rise and fall of Yabghu see O. Pritsak, "The Decline of the Empire of the Oghuz Yabghu", in The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Science in the U.S. II, (New York, 1952), 279-92, reproduced in idem, Studies in Medieval Eurasian History, (London, 1981), XIX.
3. The text has:  Lit. manifested the face of disagreement.
4. The text has: . The editor suggests:  Lit. carried his head high.
5. The editor comments that there is a lacuna of one

or two phrases in the original Ms. Probably the missing word is fa amara **فَامَرَ**, for which a translation has been given.

6. There is a lacuna here.

7. The text has: **وتجیر فی تربیرہ ورايه**
Lit. in his planning and judgement.

8. The text gives the impression that Yabghu had a plan in his mind against Yuqaq, which he could not carry out because of the sudden death of the latter.

9. The text has: **وتسہ من ان یسل لضیہ ویبٹ من ذرعہ**

Lit. from relaxing his arms and stretching his arms. For dab' see daba' in Lexicon.

10. The text has: **الملك عقیم**
For this Arabic expression see 'aqama in Lexicon.

11. Pritsak suggests 382/992 as a possible date when Saljūq and his family might have accepted Islam. See op. cit., 289. See also Ghaznavids, 221; Iranian World, 17-8. Cf. chapter I, pp. 32-3 above.

12. A town in Turkestan close to the river Jaxartes (Sayhūn) at a distance of 10 days' march from Khwārazm. See Haw, 393; Hud, 123; Yaq, II, 127; Fida, 488.

13. This dream seems to suggest that the author of this text sees some evidence for the idea of world domination amongst the Saljūqs. For further details see O. Turan, "The Idea of World Domination Among the Medieval Turks", Studia Islamica, IV (1955), 77-90.

14. In this instance Pritsak suggests "Payghu" instead of Yabghu, which according to him was also an important "Central Asiatic title", meaning "falcon" or "sparrow hawk". See op. cit., 288-89; cf. EI^{II}, art. Arslān b. Saldjūk, Cahen; idem, "A Propos de Quelques Articles - Du Köprülü Armagan", Journal Asiatique, CCXLII (1954), 271-83. Cahen maintains that the Saljūqs had assumed the title "Yabghu" to indicate their revolt against the Yabghu proper. See also Turkestan, 269; Ghaznavids, 221-22.

15. On the question of the Jewish names of the sons of Saljūq see M. Dunlop, The History of the Jewish Khazārs, (Princeton, 1954), 260-61; cf. Pritsak, op. cit., 282, n. 14.

16. A place to the east of Bukhāra on the way to Samarqand. Yaq, IV, 822; Fida, 484; Must, 261.

17. I.e. Maḥmūd of Ghazna, (388-421/998-1031). Dynasties, 181.

18. Cf. chapter I, pp. 33-4 above. For further details see Gardīzī, 81-5; IA, IX, 135, 210, 290, 323; Turkestan, 280-85; M. Nāzim, The Life and Time of Sultan Maḥmūd of Ghazna, (Cambridge, 1931), 52-5; Ghaznavids, 224; EI^{II}, art. Ilek-Khan or Ḳarā-Khānids, Bosworth.

19. For this tribe see ^{al-}Ḳāshgharī, Dīwān lughāt al-Turk, (Istanbul, 1914), I, 56; Rashīd al-Dīn, Jāmi' al-tawārīkh, (Moscow, 1965), I, 1, 126-27

20. Medieval Khurāsān was a territory which extended from the Oxus in the south to the mountain chain of the Hindū-Kush including the towns of Marw and Balkh.

 Modern Khurāsān is the north-eastern most province of Iran. See Khur, 18; Ist, 253-54; Haw, 308-9; Hud, 101; Muq, 295; Yaq, II, 409; Fida, 441; Must, 147; LEC, 8, 382; EI^{II}, art. Khurāsān, Bosworth.

21. The author seems to have confused this person. Mīkā'il had already died (IA, IX, 322). Cf. Gardīzī, 84, who says that sultan Maḥmūd had seized and imprisoned Arslan Isrā'il, the brother of Mīkā'il in the citadel of Kālanjār (Kashmīr, India).

The other Saljūq sources confirm this. Nish and Raw also refer to a letter sent to the

caliph al-Qā'im by Toghrīl and Chagrī in which inter alia they clearly mentioned Arslan Isrā'īl's imprisonment by Maḥmūd. From this letter it appears that the captive died in prison in 423/1032 having been taken captive 416-17/1025-26). See also Nish, 12, 17; Raw, 88-90, 102-3; IA, IX, 323; cf. Bun, 5 (who also has Mīkā'īl). For details see Nāẓim, op. cit., 62-4. Cf. chapter I, pp. 33-4 above.

22. Some sources suggest that they themselves requested sultan Maḥmūd to let them settle in Khurāsān and the sultan complied with their request against the counsel of one of his advisers Arslan (see below) in the hope of using them as his auxiliaries in the future. Gardīzī, 85; Nish, 13-4; Raw, 92-3; cf. Bun, 5; IA, IX, 266, 323-24; Ghaznavids, 224.
23. Cf. Bayh, 68; Gardīzī, 65; Raw, 92; who have Arslan Jādhīb. For this personality see also N. Aḥmad, "A Historical Account of the Use of Khatmī in a Battle", Hamdard Islamicus, VII, 3 (1984), 51-60.
24. Mīkā'īl was not imprisoned. Cf. n. 21 above.
25. A pre-Saljūq title which survived down to the late medieval Islamic period in the eastern lands for the chief provincial civil servant.


The term appears to have been a prestigious rank without any specific responsibilities attached to it. However, the sultan seems to have assigned to the 'amīds different types of duties such as tax-collecting. For various references to 'amīd see Bun, 100, 111, 197; Munt, IX, 112; IA, X, 277; see also the text, 32-4. For further details see Cahen, "The Turkish Invasion: The Selchūkids", in A History of the Crusades, ed. M. Setton, I, The First Hundred Years, ed. W. Baldwin, (Philadelphia, 1955), 156; idem, EI^{II}, art. 'amīd; C. Klausner, The Seljuk Vezirate: A Study of Civil Administration, 1055-1194, (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1973), 20; Luther, 15-6.

26. He is khwāja Abū Sahl Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥamdūnī (or al-Ḥamdawī).

He later became wazīr to the Saljūq sultan Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd in 421/1030 and then was put in charge of the affairs of Rayy during the reign of Muḥammad's brother sultan Mas'ūd in 424/1034. Bun, 5; Raw, 479 (appendix); IA, IX, 291; Ghaznavids, 71, 85.

27. A town in the province of Khurāsān at a distance of 10 farsakhs from Marw to the south-west on the road to Sarakhs. Ist, 284-85; Haw, 333-34; Hud, 94; Yaq, II, 610; Fida, 459; LEC, 400.

28. For these events see also Nish, 10-14; Bun, 5-6; Raw, 86-94; IA, IX, 266-67, 321-24; Ghaznavids, 219-24.
29. The most likely date of sultan Maḥmūd's death would appear to be Rabī' II, 421/1030 as suggested by the contemporary author Gardīzī, 92. See also Nish, 14; IA, IX, 281 (first pagination).
30. The text has: **اصحاب اولاد سلجوق**.
i.e. "The associates of the sons of Saljūq."
31. Before his death sultan Maḥmūd seems to have sent Abu'l-Ḥarīth Arslan, the amīr of Tūs, on an expedition in 418/1027 against the Saljūq Turcomans after complaints from the people of Nasā, Abīward and Farāwa about their atrocities in that region. The expedition was, however, a failure. The following year the sultan himself had to march against them, inflicting a terrible defeat on them and forcing them to flee in different directions. See Gardīzī, 89-90; IA, IX, 266, 267; Nāẓim, op. cit., 64-6; Ghaznavids, 224-25; cf. Nish, 14; Raw, 93, who say that the Saljūqs remained peaceful throughout the lifetime of sultan Maḥmūd.
32. Arslan Isrā'īl did die in prison during the reign of sultan Mas'ūd, but he was seized and imprisoned by his father Maḥmūd. Cf. n. 21 above.

33. The text has: 
For this expression see rahn and ghalaqa in Lexicon.
34. For a discussion of this term see the text, p. 85.
35. A district in Khurāsān to the north-east of Nīshāpūr cose to the present-day town of Mashhad, on the Kashaf river, a tributary of the Harī Rūd. Ist, 254. 257; Haw, 309, 313; Yaq, III, 560; Hud, 90; Fida, 449, 451, 453; Must, 150-51; LEC, 388; EI^I, art. Tūs, Minorsky.
36. A vague and confusing reference indeed. Other sources are also not explicit about it. Gardīzī, 98, however, has a reference to some Turcomans causing troubles around Sarakhs and Abīward and says that sultan Ma'sūd, while at Herat, sent some troops against them in 422/1031, causing a great deal of slaughter among them and crushing their insurgence. Bayh, 372, also mentions an expedition against some Turcomans in 424/1033. IA, IX, 267-68 refers to an expedition under amīr Tāsh Farrāsh in 427/1035 (after the sultan's return from India in 425, IA, IX, 300) against some Ghuzz ("Iraqi Ghuzz" as he calls them) whose leaders were Būqā (Bogha), Kūktāsh (Göktash), Qizīl, Yaghmur and Nāṣughlī (Anas-Oglu'?).

These Ghuzz, however, seem to have been independent of those who under Toghrīl and his brothers were to become the masters of Khurāsān. They were called the "Iraqi Ghuzz" because after the Ghaznawid onslaught they were forced to flee towards al-Jibāl ('Irāq 'Ajamī). See Hāshmī, 30-1, 38; Ghaznavids, 225.

37. Cf. n. 21 above.

38. The text has: ركب استاح الرياح

The editor suggests: --- جناح ---

Lit. He travelled with the wings of the wind.

39. The capital city of Khurāsān situated in the western part of the province separated from the valley of Mashhad and Tus by Binālūd-Kūh in the north and east. Ist, 254; Haw 310; Muq, 299; Hud, 89; Yaq, IV, 857; Fida, 451; Must, 147-48; LEC, 383, 386-88; EI^I, art. Nīshāpūr, Honigmann.

40. The reference here is to Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Ṣamad. For this personage see n. 89 below. For a discussion of the post of wazīr during the Saljūq period see n. 161 below.

41. The reference here is to a town of Khurāsān on the south-western side of the Qara-Qum Desert at a distance of two days' march from Sarakhs to the north. Ist, 254; Hud, 55, 90; Yaq, IV, 776; Fida, 451; LEC, 394; EI^I art. Nasā, Minorsky.

42. A small city with a ribāṭ of the dependencies of Nasā in the province of Khurāsān at a short distance from the Dihistān of Jurjān.

The modern name of the place is Qizil Arwāṭ (Kizyl Arvat) in Soviet Turkmenistan.

Ist 253-54, 283; Haw, 309, 331; Hud, 144; Yaq, III, 866; Fida, 449; Must, 151, 177; LEC, 380.

43. With the death of 'Alī-Tegin of Transoxiana and Hārūn b. Altun-Tash of Khwārazm for whom they served as auxiliaries, the Saljūqs were obliged by the onslaught of Shāh Malik of Jand against them to move once again towards Khurāsān (426/1034). From Marw, they are reported to have approached Abu'l-Faḍl Sūrī, the Ghaznawid 'amīd of Khurāsān, in a very humble letter asking him to allow them to settle in the regions of Farāwa and Nasā. But sultan Mas'ūd and his military commanders eventually opted for a military action to settle their affairs once and for all. (See below.) See for details, Bayh, 445, 470-75. 687-88, especially pp. 470-71 for the contents of the letter. Nish, 14; Raw, 94; IA, IX, 324-25; For a general survey of the events see Turkestan, 296-99; Hāshmī, 39; Ghaznavids, 241-42; Iranian World, 18-20. Bay., who being a contemporary is supposed to be more informed about the situation does not mention the imprisonment of the wazīr;

although his account does suggest that the wazīr's opinion was against fighting the Saljūqs at this stage and this difference of opinion had contributed to the atmosphere of misunderstanding between the sultan and his wazīr. See pp. 472-74, 477-78.

44. For a discussion of the post of ḥājib during the Saljūq period see the text, 83 and the note.
45. This seems to have occurred in 426/1035.
Gardīzī, 100-2; Bayh, 483-86; Nish, 14-5;
Raw, 94-5; IA, IX, 325-6; Ghaznavids, 241-42.
46. He is Abū Naṣr al-Dabī (or al-Ṣīnī). See Bayh, 490-93, as the editor also noted.
47. The reference is probably to an area in Jurjān at a distance of 23 farsakhs to the north of the city of Jurjān on the route to Khwārazm near the shore of the Caspian sea and the river Atrak.
Ist, 207, 219; Haw, 269, 277; Muq, 358;
Yaq, II, 633; Fida, 439; Must, 176, 212;
LEC, 377, 379-81; EI^{II}, art. Dihistān, Spuler.
Cf. the text, 7, 147.
48. The term dihqān was used during Sassanian times for the head of a village and a member of the regional ruling elite having in his possession a piece of land. The dihqāns had great importance in the political structure of these territories

and were authorised to collect taxes from the people as the representative of the government. Thus they obtained the status of the dominant social class of Persia and Transoxiana.

The term appears to have been used during the Ghaznawid period for the head of a village and a landowner, as is evident from the text here.

The dihqāns also existed during the Saljūq period but with the widespread use of the iqṭā' system their importance was reduced substantially and with the passage of time the term was used only for peasants and farmers.

Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, ed. De Goeje, (Leiden, 1879), I, 434; Firdawsī, Shāh-Nāma, ed. Gand E. Warner, (London, 1905), I, 81 (introduction); Turkestan, 180-81; A.K.S. Lambton, Landlord and Peasant in Persia, (London, 1953), 3, 13-4, 59; eadem, EI^{II}, art. Dihkān.

49. For further details on this post during the Saljūq period see EI^{II}, art. al-Kātib, Sellheim, Sourdell.
50. Al-Qur'ān, III : 26.
51. See also Bayh, 489-93 (a detailed account); Nish, 15; Raw, 95; IA, IX, 326.
52. He is Sūrī b. al-Mu'tazz, the Ghaznawid 'amīd

- of Khurāsān. See as the editor suggests, Raw, 94. See also Nish, 14; Ghaznavids, 87.
53. For its continuation see the text, pp. 6-9 below.
54. For further details about this personage see Gardīzī, 104, 109; Bayh, 272, 501; IA, IX, 334; Later Ghaznavids, 14, 30.
55. A large district in the province of Khurāsān lying to the south of the river Oxus to the east of Balkh and to the west of Badakhshān. Ist, 254, 275, 278-79; Haw, 310, 325-26; Hud, 99; Yaq, III, 518; Fida, 471-73; Must, 156; LEC, 426-27; EI^I, art. Tokhāristān, Barthold.
56. A place in Sijistān (Sistān) which lay on the way from Bust to Ghazna. It was a dependency of Qandahār. Ist, 250; Haw, 305; Muq, 349; Must, 143; LEC, 347.
57. An area of Central Asia comprising the lands watered by the lower courses of the Oxus. For details see Ist, 254, 299-300; Haw, 350-51; Hud, 122-23; Yaq, II, 280-83; Fida, 477-79; Must, 258; LEC, 446-59; EI^{II} art. Khwārazm, Bosworth.
58. The battle between Shāh Malik (who was the son of the Öghuz Yabghu and a deadly enemy of the Saljūqs), and the Khwārazm-Shāh Ismā'īl Khāndān

b. Altun-Tash (425-32/1034-41) took place in 432/1040-41. In this battle the Khwārazm-Shah was defeated and Shāh Malik read the khutba in Khwārazm in the name of sultan Mas'ūd, although the sultan by that time had died far away in India.

Shāh Malik was defeated and ousted from Khwārazm two years later in 434/1042-43 by sultan Toghrīl. He (Shāh Malik) fled for his life to Makrān where he fell into the hands of Chaghrī Beg and later died in obscurity in prison.

For details see Bayh, 445, 690-91; IA, IX, 346-47; Turkestan, 175, 302, 305; Ghaznavids, 221; Iranian World, 51-2; Pritsak, op. cit. 289-90.

59. A mamlūk general of Mas'ūd of Ghazna and at one time amīr of Rayy and Hamadān (422-424/1031-1033). IA, IX, 287 (second pagination); Ghaznavids, 85.
60. He is Muḥammad b. Dushmanziyār b. Kākūya, the first ruler of the Daylamī dynasty, who ruled over the provinces of Iṣfahān, Hamadān and Rayy for about 35 years (398-433/1007-1041). Dynasties, 97.
61. This seems to have taken place in 425/1034. IA, IX, 296-97; For further details see Ghaznavids, 234-35; Iranian World, 37-8;

- Bosworth, "Dailamis in Central Iran: The Kākūyids of Jibāl and Yazd", Iran. VIII (1970), 77-9, reproduced in idem, The Medieval History of Iran, Afghanistan and Central Asia, (London, 1977), V.
62. The reference here is to the well-known philosopher and physician known to the west as Avicenna. For details see EI^{II}, art. Ibn Sīnā, Goichon.
63. The reference is to the Ghūrīd ruler 'Alā'al-Dīn Ḥusayn (544-56/1149-61). He was also called Jahān-sūz, i.e. the "one who burnt the world", for he set Ghazna on fire and massacred the people after defeating the Ghaznawīd ruler Bahrām-Shāh in 545/1150. For further details see Nizāmī 'Arūdī, Chahār Maqāla, ed. M. Qazwīnī (London, 1910), 92; G.M. Khan, "A History of Bahrām Shāh of Ghaznīn", Islamic Culture, XXIII (1949), 199-217; Hāshmī, 98-102; Later Ghaznavids, 111-20; see also the editor's note.
64. The text has: أَجَبْنِ مِنْ صَافِرٍ
For this idiom see jabana in Lexicon.
65. A town of Khurāsān which lay between Nasā and Marw, probably near the present site of Muḥammadābād in Soviet Turkmenistan at a distance of six days' march from Marw westwards.
Faḡ, 321; Ist, 254, 283; Haw, 309, 331;
Hud, 90; Yaq, I, III; Fida 445; Must, 157;

LEC, 394; EI^{II}, art. Abīward, Minorsky.

66. A city in Sijistān between Herat and Qandahār, the ruins of which still exist. Ist, 238, 245; Haw, 297, 302; Muq, 297; Hud, 103; Yaq, I, 612; Must, 142-43; LEC, 344; EI^{II}, art. Bust, Sourdell-Thomine.

67. A town in northern Khurāsān situated on the lower course of the river Murghāb to the east of the Qara Qum Desert.

The town is now in Soviet Turkmenistan.

Ist, 258, 261; Haw, 314-15; Muq, 310; Hud, 55, 94; Yaq, IV, 507; Fida, 458; Must, 156, 215-16; LEC, 397-98, 406; EI^I, art. Merw al-Shāhidjān, Jakoubovsky.

68. A village in the district of Khabarān (Khurāsān) on the outskirts of Sarakhs. Yaq, I, 232; LEC, 394-95.

69. A village of the dependencies of Marw at a distance of four farsakhs from it. Yaq, III, 245.

70. A district to the west of Balkh and the south of the Oxus in Khurāsān.

The area covered by it forms the present day towns of Maymana, Andkhūy, Shibargān and Sar-i pul in modern Afghanistan between the Murghāb and the Oxus. Ist, 254, 270-71; Haw, 310, 321; Hud, 95;

Muq, 298; Yaq, II, 149; Fida, 446; Must, 155;
LEC, 423; EI^{II}, art. Djūzджān, Hartmann.

71. The text has: **وضاقت عليه البلاد**

Lit. the lands became narrow for him.

72. Here the reference is to the capital city of
the district of Bādghis in the province of
Khurāsān to the north-east of Herat.

See Ist, 268; Haw, 319; Muq, 50, 298, 308;
Yaq, II, 633; Must, 153; LEC, 414; EI^{II}, art.
Dihistān, Spuler.

73. For details about this personality and about his
confiscations in Khurāsān see also Ibn Funduq,
Tārīkh Bayhaq, ed. A. Bahmānyar (Tehran, 1317/
1938), 273; Ghaznavids, 260.

74. The text has: **والجواد عنه فراره**

For this expression see farra in Lexicon.

75. The text has: **اقوام نفوسهم رلبت بأداب الوغى**

Lit. whose souls are tied to the rules of
war.

76. The text has: **تجبي الحمام**

Lit. they tax death(?)

77. A town to the north-east of Nīshāpūr between
Tūs and Marw lying on the lower course of Harī
Rūd. Ist, 272; Haw, 323; Hud, 93; Yaq, III, 71;

Fida, 455; Must, 158, 220; LEC, 395; EI^I,
art. Sarakhs, Ruska.

78. For a detailed discussion of these events see Bayh, 534-44, 550-54. His date (429/1038) for these events is more likely. See also Nish, 15; Bun, 6-7; Raw, 96-7; IA, IX, 311-12, 327-28; Hāshmī, 41; For a thorough survey of the events of the first Saljūq occupation of Nīshāpūr see Ghaznavids, 252-58. See also ibid., 258-68.

79. The text has: **لورمى بصاركن الدهر لانصد**
Lit. which if he had hurled against the pillar of age, it would have fallen to the ground.

80. For these events see also IA, IX, 328. Cf. Bayh, 567, who would appear to suggest that these events took place a year later in 430/1038.

81. A town in Khurāsān to the north-east of Dandānqān near Marw. Hud, 94; Yaq, III, 599.

82. The text has: **قارعاً باب المصالحة**
Lit. knocking at the door of peace.

83. The text has: **وما البقى لهم ناباً ولا ظفراً**
Lit. they were left with neither canine-tooth nor claw.

84. There are a number of places called Rūdhbār in different provinces. Here the reference is

probably either to a place near Marw or Balkh, which could have been situated on the long route from Dandānqān to Ghazna. Yaq, II, 831; Fida, 429.

85. For the well-known battle of Dandānqān see Gardīzī, 107-8; Bayh, 623-29. For detailed background information see Bayh, 567-89, 602-622. It is noteworthy that Bayh is an eyewitness of all these events. See also Nish, 16-17; Raw, 99-102; IA, IX, 329-30. For a general survey see Hāshmī, 42-4.
86. The original Ms. has **كفاه**. The editor suggests **كفاه**, which also seems inappropriate here. A translation has been suggested for **كنانه**.
87. The text has: **وانخرط في سلك الجباعة**
Lit. He was strung in the string of the party.
88. These events would seem to have taken place at the beginning of 432/1040 (see also the text below). Gardīzī, 108-9 (a swift and incomplete account); Bayh, 644-45, 649-50, 651-55; Bayh places the battle between Chaghrī Beg and Altun-Taq (he has Altun-Tash) in 431/1039 and the battle between Chaghrī Beg and Mawdūd a year later. See also IA, IX, 330-31. For a general survey see Hāshmī, 44; Later Ghaznavids, 11-3.

89. He is khwāja Abū Naṣr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Ṣamad, formerly wazīr to the Ghaznawid vassal Altun-Tash Khwārazm-Shāh (408-23/1017-32). Mas‘ūd of Ghazna appointed him his own wazīr in 423/1032. He also worked for Mas‘ūd's son Mawdūd for a short time. Bayh, 155, 331; IA, IX, 331, 334, 345; Ghaznavids, 58, 60-1, 72; Later Ghaznavids, 34; EI^{II}, art. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, author unknown.
90. For the question of the blindness of Muḥammad, see Later Ghaznavids, 18-9.
91. A place at a distance of six days' march from Ghazna towards the east, probably in the Kurram valley of the North-Western province of modern Pakistan. Yaq, IV, 797; H. Hodivala, Studies in Indo-Muslim History: A Critical Commentary on Elliot and Dowson's History of India as Told by Its Own Historians, (Bombay, 1939), 168; Later Ghaznavids, 15, n. 33.
92. The text has: عنوان صحيفة القوم -
Lit. the title of the book of the nation.
93. The text has: آلات السلام -
94. A mountainous place in modern Pakistan lying between Attock and Rawalpindi to the east of Hasan Abdāl. Hodivala, op. cit., 193-94; Later Ghaznavids, 19.

95. The text has: **وامتطى محمد غوارب سرير الملك**

Lit. rode the withers of the throne.....

96. The place is identical with Shahbāz Gīrī (Shahbaz Garhi) or Kapūr Gīrī (Kapur Garhi). It lies to the south-east of Peshawar near Mardan in modern Pakistan. Hodivala, op. cit., 160, 195; Later Ghaznavids, 19.

97. See also Gardīzī, 109-10; Bayh, 659-64; IA, IX, 331-33; Hāshmī, 45. For an assessment of Mas'ūd see Hāshmī, 46-7; Later Ghaznavids, 14-20.

98. This is probably a reference to a place between Balkh and Ghazna at a distance of 12 miles from Jalālābād. C. Masson, Narrative of Various Journeys in Balochistan, Afghanistan and the Punjab, (Karachi, 1974), I, 184; Later Ghaznavids, 24.

99. See also Gardīzī, 110-12; Bayh, 690; IA, IX, 333-34 (IA mentions that sultan Muḥammad was at Peshawar, the capital of the North-Western province of modern Pakistan); Minhāj al-Dīn al-Jūzjānī, Ṭabaqāt Nāṣirī, ed. W.N. Lees, K. Ḥusayn, 'Abd al-Ḥayy, (Calcutta, 1864), 15-6 (who gives the additional information that the battle between Muḥammad and his nephew Mawdūd took place in the limits of Nangrahār, presumably near Jalālābād to the north-west of Peshawar, (cf. n. 98 above);

- Hāshmī, 48-9; Later Ghaznavids, 20-5. For a continuation of the events see the text, 26-8.
100. I.e. 421-32/1031-411. Dynasties, 181. .
101. I.e. 432-40/1041-48. For a general survey of his reign see Hāshmī, 50-61; Later Ghaznavids, 24-38.
102. The surname of this personage is uncertain. The original Ms. of Ibn Funduq's Tārīkh Bayhaq, 177-78, has B.DAN and B.R'AN, while its editor suggests Birār. Bayh, 607 also has B.DAN, while its editors suggest B.R'AN. The Ms. of our text has B.ZAN once and then N.ZAN. Sa'īd Nafisy (Said Naficy) has Birār (EI^{II}, art. al-Bayhakī). Bosworth seems to be inclined to Buzan, Bozan, which according to him looks more Turkish; meaning destroyer, annihilator. Later Ghaznavids, 42.
103. On the reign of sultan 'Abd al-Rashīd (c. 440, 441-43/1049, 1059-52) see Hāshmī, 62-7; Later Ghaznavids, 36-41.
104. They were 'Abd al-Rashīd's nephews and not brothers, as 'Abd al-Rashīd and their father Mas'ūd were brothers. Some other sources seem to suggest that Shujā' survived the massacre. For this question see Later Ghaznavids, 45.

105. Cf. IA, IX, 398-401 and Tārīkh Sīstān, ed. Malik al-Shu'arā' Bahār, (Tehran, 1314/1935), 371-72, which have a totally different account of these events. They make Toghrīl fight on behalf of sultan 'Abd al-Rashīd against the Saljūq forces in Sīstān (Sijistān) and on his return he carries out his plan and seizes the throne of Ghazna. For further details see Hāshmī, 64-7; Later Ghaznavids, 41-7.
106. Also Anūsh-Tegin. For this person see al-Jūzjānī, op. cit., 18; Bayh, 454, 481; Later Ghaznavids, 46.
107. All these developments, i.e. the usurpation of the throne of Ghazna by Toghrīl, the murder of 'Abd al-Rashīd and then of Toghrīl himself, would appear to have taken place within a short time in 443/1051. Our text's date (432/1040 for Toghrīl's rise to power is an error. For details see Later Ghaznavids, 46-7.
108. This seems to be a reference to the battle in which IA, XI, 401, makes Chaghrī Beg advance towards Ghazna and is defeated by the Ghaznawid commander whom he calls Khirkhīz. The battle probably took place in the last part of 443/1051 or at the beginning of the next year. See also Hāshmī, 69; Later Ghaznavids, 49. For a continuation of the events see the text, 28-9.

109. See also IA, X, 3. For general details on the reign of sultan Farrukh-Zād see Hāshmī, 68-71; Later Ghaznavids, 47-9.
110. A mountainous area in Khurāsān which lay to the south of Herat at a distance of three days' march from it. Ist, 254, 282, 285; Haw, 310, 331, 334; Hud, 92; Yaq, I, 248; Fida, 457; Must, 152; LEC, 412.
111. For this interesting anecdote see also IA, X, 110-11; M. Shafī, "Fresh Light on the Ghaznavids", Islamic Culture, XII (1938), 211-12. No exact date can be ascertained for it. See Later Ghaznavids, 53, 169, n. 15.
112. See also IA, X, 111. There seems to be some confusion about the person of the Mahd al-'Irāq as some sources suggest that she was the daughter of Chaghrī Beg Dā'ud not of Malik-Shāh. See Hāshmī, 74-5; Shafī, op. cit., 210-13; Khan, op. cit., (1949), 64-6; Later Ghaznavids, 54-5; cf. also the text, 58.
113. From here onwards to the next page the author of our text seems to have compressed the account of the different events. He refers to some events but does not give dates for them and when he does, they do not seem to be accurate. Moreover, the order of the events is confused. See also the subsequent few notes.

114. 30 years seems to be a scribal error. Ibrāhīm ruled for 40 years (451-92/1059-99) as the editor also notes. For a general survey of his reign see Hāshmī, 72-84; Later Ghaznavids, 50-81.
115. This is again an error. Mas'ūd b. Ibrāhīm's reign lasted from 492/1099 to 508/115, as the editor also notes. For a general survey of his reign see Hāshmī, 85-6; Later Ghaznavids, 82-9.
116. The account never follows and there is immediately a rather vague mention of sultan Sanjar and Ghazna. Probably the author is referring to the visit of Sanjar to Ghazna in 495/1101-2 during the reign of sultan Mas'ūd b. Ibrāhīm. See IA, X, 240.
117. The Ghaznawid dynasty (366-582/977-1186) ruled over Khurāsān, present day Afghanistan and northern India with their capital first at Ghazna and then at Lahore. For full bibliographical details see Ghaznavids; Later Ghaznavids.
118. This was in 447/1055. Caliph al-Qā'im seems to have sent Abū Muḥammad Hibat Allāh as his envoy to ask Toghrīl to come to Baghdad. Nish, 18; Bun, 9-11; Raw, 105.
119. The reference here is to Qūhistān-i Khurāsān, a mountainous region bounded by Khurāsān to the north and by Sīstān (Sijistān) to the south.

Hud, 90; Yaq, IV, 205-6; Fida, 444; Must, 142; LEC, 352-63; EI^{II}, art. Kūhistān, Kramers.

120. A province of Persia which comprised the area between Ṭabaristān (Māzandarān) and Qūhistān lying to the south-east of the Caspian sea watered by two rivers - Jurjān and Atrāk. The present day province of Astarābād covers almost the same lands of the province of Jurjān.

The capital city of the province was also called Jurjān which lay on both sides of the river Jurjān. Ist, 207, 212-14; Haw, 269, 272-73; Hud, 143; Yaq, II, 48-9; Fida, 439; Must, 159; LEC, 376-77; EI^{II}, art. Gurgān, Hartmann, Boyle.

121. For this personage and his followers often referred to in the sources as Ināliyyān see Ghaznavids, 226.

122. A town in Khurāsān which lay at a distance of 10 farsakhs to the south of Herat. See Khur, 18; Faq, 321; Ist, 253-54; Haw, 309-10; Hud, 92; Yaq, I, 758; Fida, 455; LEC, 407, 431; EI^{II}, art. Būshandj, Barthold, Spuler.

123. The region to the south of Khurāsān and north of Makrān stretching to the borders of Baluchistān separated from Kirmān by a vast desert (Mafāza).

In modern times the region is divided between

modern Afghanistan and Iran. Ist, 238; Haw, 296-97; Hud, 102; Yaq, III, 41; Fida, 340; Must, 141-42, 241; LEC, 7, 334-35; EI^I, art. Sidjistān, Büchner.

124. A mountainous territory which stretched to the east and south of Gharjistān between Herat and the Hilmand river.

The area in modern times corresponds more or less to Hazāristān of modern Afghanistan.

Ist, 272; Haw, 323; Hud, 101; Yaq, III, 823; Must, 154; LEC, 416; EI^{II}, art. Ghūr, Bivar.

125. The most probable occasion for this sharing out of the regions would appear to have been 431/1040 after the decisive victory against the Ghaznawids at Dandānqān. See Nish, 18; Bun, 8-9; Raw, 104. Nish and Raw add that Qawurt b. Chaghrī Beg was allotted Kirmān. They have Ibrāhīm b. Īnal, Alp-Arslan b. Chaghrī Beg, his brother Yāqūtī and Qutlumush b. Arslan Isrā'īl accompanying Toghrīl towards Rayy.

126. This is probably a reference to the first visit of Toghrīl to Baghdad in 447/1055. The khutba was read in Baghdad in his name shortly before his arrival there. See also n. 118 above.

127. The reference is probably to the expeditions of Ibrāhīm Īnal and Qutlumush in 440/1048. It was during these expeditions that the Georgian prince

Liparit (Qārīt, Fārīt) was captured. IA, IX, 372-73. For some more references see Iranian World, 43, n. 3.

128. This would appear to have taken place in 449/1057. Previously the 'Uqaylid Quraysh (443-53/1052-61) had paid allegiance to Toghrīl until 448/1056. Bun, 12-3; IA, IX, 412, 430-32. Quraysh seems to have appealed to Toghrīl for pardon and immediately became his vassal again. IA, IX, 433.

129. The part of al-Jazīra which comprised the towns from Sumaysāt in the north to 'Anā in the south along the Euphrates and also the lands watered by the river Balīkh. Yaq, II, 637; LEC, 87, 101-8; EI^{II}, art. Diyār Muḍar, Canard.

130. I.e. Arslan Khatun Khadīja, well-known in the sources. Munt, VIII, 169-70; Bun, 11-2; IA, IX, 424. See also the text, p. 21.

131. This was in 449/1058 when Toghrīl visited Baghdad for the second time and was received by the caliph in a splendid fashion. For a detailed description of this occasion see Bun, 13-4; IA, IX, 435-36.

132. He is al-Muẓaffar Abu'l-Ḥārith Arslan b. 'Abd Allāh, a Turkish ghulām of the Būyid Bahā

al-Dawla Fīrūz (379-403/989-1012). He was the military chief at the court of al-Qā'im on behalf of his master's dynasty. For further details see IK, I, 172-73; EI^{II}, art. al-Basāsīrī, Canard.

133. A town in Fārs at a distance of 27 farsakhs to the south-east of Shīrāz in the district of Darabjird. Khur, 47; Faq, 204; Ist, 97, 107, 127; Haw, 179, 183, 197; Hud, 134; Yaq, I, 608, III, 891-92; Fida, 331; Must, 125; LEC, 290; G. Le Strange, Description of the Province of Fars in Persia, (London, 1912), 32; EI^{II}, art. Fasā, Lockhart.

134. The text has: **ويجرعه انواع الغمص**
Lit. He made him drink different kinds of sorrows.

135. The text has: **وشق بطون الغلوات**
Lit. He tore the stomachs of the desert.

136. A town which lay on the right bank of the river Euphrates between al-Raqqa and Baghdad at a distance of eight days' march from Damascus and five days' from Aleppo. Between Baghdad and Raḥba there was a distance of 100 farsakhs. The town is identical with modern al-Miyādīn. Yaq, II, 764; Hud, 156; Fida, 281; Must, 250; LEC, 105; EI^I, art. al-Raḥba, Honigmann.

137. The reference is to the Faṭimid caliph of Egypt (427-87/1036-94). Dynasties, 46.

138. A Daylamī Shī'ī dynasty of Persia and Iraq (320-454/932-1062. For full bibliographical details, cf. M. Kabīr, The Buwayhid Dynasty of Baghdad, (Calcutta, 1964); R. Mottahedeh, Loyalty and Leadership in Early Islamic Society, (Princeton, 1980); H. Bowen, "The Last Buwayhids", JRAS, (1929); EI^{II}, art. Buwayhids, Cahen.

139. Once a very important town of al-Jibāl at a distance of 64 farsakhs to the north-east of Hamadān, but now mere ruins lying to the south-east of Tehran. See: Ist, 202; Haw, 265; Hud, 142; Yaq, II, 892-94; Fida, 421; Must, 52; LEC, 214; EI^I, art. Raiy, Minorsky.

140. A citadel on a hillock to the north of Rayy. Yaq, III, 507; Must, 53; LEC, 217.

141. A town in Diyār Rabī'a (al-Jazīra) situated on the upper Hirmās river to the north-west of Mosul. Khur, 95; Ist, 72-3; Haw, 140; Muq, 137; Hud, 155; Yaq, IV, 787; Fida, 283; Must, 106, 226; LEC, 94; EI^I, art. Naṣībīn, Honigmann.

142. For Mafāza see n. 123 above. For further details see LEC, 322-28.

143. The reference here is to Abu'l-Qāsim 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Muslima (see text, 62). He took over as wazīr to caliph al-Qā'im in 437/1045. For details of this personage see EI^{II}, art. Ibn al-Muslima, Cahen.
144. He is Muhārish b. al-Mujallī, the cousin of Quraysh b. Badrān and the lord of al-Ḥadītha. He died in 499/1105 at the age of 80. Bun, 16; Munt, VIII, 205; IA, X, 287.
145. A town to the south of 'Āna and north of Anbār on the river Euphrates. Khur, 74; Ist, 77; Muq, 135; Yaq, II, 223; Fida, 287; Must, 36; LEC, 64; EI^{II}, art. Ḥadītha, Herzfeld.
146. The text has: مولانا وقع هذا المثال
147. The text has: قباؤه الخيل
148. Cf. G. Le Strange, Baghdad Under the Abbasid Caliphate, (London, 1924), 259-60.
149. Our text has compressed the account of these developments and hence lost the order of the different events. A more accurate and convincing account and chronology would appear to be that Toghrīl arrived in Baghdad for the first time in 447/1056. Al-Basāsīrī was on this occasion at Wāsiṭ having been abandoned by Malik al-Raḥīm under pressure from the caliph. On arrival at

Baghdad, Toghrīl seized Malik al-Raḥīm and shut him up in a citadel against the wishes of the caliph. Al-Basāsīrī had first resorted to Dubays b. Ṣadaqa and then fled towards Raḥba where he made contact with al-Mustanṣir, the Fāṭimid caliph of Egypt. In 448 al-Basāsīrī captured Mosul and read the khutba for the Fāṭimids.

Toghrīl set out towards Mosul. Al-Basāsīrī fled once again to Raḥba and the town eventually fell to Toghrīl. He then returned to Baghdad the next year. In 450/1058 while Toghrīl was pre-occupied in al-Jibāl with settling matters with the rebellious Ibrāhīm Īnal, al-Basāsīrī descended on Baghdad and ousted the caliph from there. Toghrīl at the insistence of the caliph came to Baghdad for the third time in 451/1060, restored the caliph and then put al-Basāsīrī to death. Nish, 19-20; Bun, 12-18; Munt, VIII, 162-66, 168-73, 181-83, 190-97, 201-12; Raw, 105-10; IA, IX, 417-22, 430-33, 435-36, 440-48. (Nish and Raw put the descent of al-Basāsīrī on Baghdad in 449); Iranian World, 46-7.

150. The 'aqd (marriage-contract) seems to have taken place at Tabrīz (Āzarbāījān) in 454/1062, but the zifāf would appear to have been in Baghdad in 455. For a detailed account see Bun, 19-22, 25-6; Munt, VIII, 226, 229-30; IA, X, 12-4, 15-6. Cf. Nish, 21; Raw, 111, who seem to

suggest that the sultan died before the zifāf took place. See also G. Makdisi, "The Marriage of Tughril Beg", International Journal of Middle East Studies, I (1970), 259-75.

151. For this personage see also the text pp. 23-6 and n. 157 below.
152. See also Nish, 22; Bun, 28; IA, X, 16; IK, III, 228-29.
153. Cf. the text, 32, 193, where it has the sultan's tomb at Rayy. See also Nish, 21; Bun, 26; Munt, VIII, 234; Raw, 112; IA, X, 16. See also IK, III, 228 who say that he died at Rayy and was buried at Marw.
154. Wādhār or Wīdhār is a reference to a town near Samarqand which was famous for its cloth. See Ist, 322, 342; Haw, 369, 373, especially, p. 403 where Haw provides us with interesting information on the cloth in question. See also Muq, 324; Yaq, IV, 944.
155. See also Bun, 27-8; cf. IA, X, 17-8 who adds a few more details about Toghrīl's life. Besides mentioning his virtues, he reports that the sultan was at times "tyrannical, brutal and merciless. His soldiers robbed people of their prosperity and they had a free hand in doing so

day and night." See also IK, III, 227.

156. See also Nish, 22; Bun, 27; IK, III, 228-29.

157. He is 'Amīd al-Mulk Abū Naṣr Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr b. Muḥammad al-Kundurī. He worked as wazīr for sultan Toghrīl in the period 447-55/1055-63 and then for his successor Sulaymān b. Chaghri Beg during his short reign. On this personage see also IK, III, 290-95; 'Abbās, 15, 37, 42-3; H. Bowen, "Notes on Some Early Saljūqid Viziers", BSOAS, XX (1957), 110. C. Klausner, The Seljuk Vezirate: The Study of Civil Administration, 1105-1194, 57-8; EI^{II}, art. al-Kundurī, Makdisi.

158. The reference here is to a village or a small town in Qūhistān near Nīshāpūr.

Another village of the same name was situated near Qazwīn. Ist, 256, 284; Haw, 313, 333; Muq, 318, 351; Hud, 90; Yaq, IV, 205-6, 309; Fida, 443; LEC, 354.

159. He is Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abu'l-Ṭayyib al-Bākharzī, a poet and a learned man and the author of the anthology, Dumyat al-qasr wa 'usrat ahl al-'aṣr. He was the intimate friend and secretary of wazīr 'Amīd al-Mulk al-Kundurī.

He belonged to Bākharz, a region between Herat and Nīshāpūr.

He was killed by a Turk in 467/1075 in his native town. See Yāqūt, Irshād al-arīb ilā ma'rifat al-adīb, V, 121-22; Yaq, I, 458; al-Sam'anī, Kitāb al-ansāb, facs., (London, 1912), f. 57b; IK, II, 323-24; al-Subkī, Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyyat al-kubrā, (Cairo, 1324/1906), III, 298; EI^{II}, art. al-Bākharzī, Margoliouth.

160. He is Jamāl al-Islām Abū Muḥammad Hibat Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Muwaffaq, a great jurist and head of the ḥadīthān, (Arabic: aḥdāth, "vigilant bodies", as Bosworth puts it, see below) at Nīshāpūr during the reign of sultan Mas'ūd of Ghazna.

He was one of those notables who welcomed Ibrāhīm Īnal in Nīshāpūr when he entered the city and read the khutba for sultan Toghrīl in 429/1038.

He later became a "man of distinction" (khwāja) at the court of Toghrīl. He died in 440/1048-49. See Bayh, 551-54, 607; Nāṣir Khusraw, Safar-Nāma, ed. M.D. Siyāqī, (Tehran, 1335/1956), 3; H. Bowen, "The Sar-gudhast-i Sayyidnā, the "Tale of the Three Schoolfellows" and the Waṣāya of the Nizām al-Mulk", JRAS (1931), 778-79; Ghaznavids, 252, 262-65. For aḥdāth cf. art. EI^{II}, Cahen.

161. The highest official in the court of the Saljūq

sultans and amīrs who was the head of the different administrative dīwāns.

The wazīr as a deputy of the sultan was a multi-functional officer and besides being the chief supervisor of the country's finances, which was of course his main charge, his jurisdiction could extend to military, judicial, religious and all other matters which the sultan assigned to him.

For further details see A.K.S. Lambton, "The Internal Structure of the Saljūq Empire" in Cambridge History of Iran, ed. J. Boyle, (Cambridge, 1968), V, 257, 260-69; eadem, "Contribution to the Study of Seljūq Institution", (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, London, 1939), 54-115; eadem, EI^{II}, art. Dīwān; Klausner, op. cit., passim; S.C. Fairbanks, The Tārīkh al-Vuzarā': A History of the Saljuq Bureaucracy, (Michigan, 1977), 140-66; EI^I, art. Wazīr, Babinger.

162. For the post of ḥājib see the text, 83 and the note.
163. This is a reference to a severe satirical poem of al-Bākharzī which he composed against al-Kundurī. The poem opens with the word "aqbala" (he arrived). See al-Bākharzī, Dumyat al-qasr wa 'usrat ahl al-'asr, (Aleppo, 1349/1930), 141-42; Yāqūt, op. cit., V, 124-25.
164. For the first verse see al-Bākharzī, op. cit.

143; see also as the editor suggests, Yāqūt, op. cit., V, 125. Al-Bākharzī and Yāqūt have ma'āhid for maghānī.

165. The text has: **وَأَنفَادَهُمْ بِرَأً عَلَى الْأَكْبَادِ**
Lit. provided them with coolness in their hearts.

166. According to Bun, 30; IA, X, 21 and IK, III, 293, this event occurred in the reign of sultan Toghrīl. This appears to be more likely since during the reign of Alp-Arslan, al-Kundurī did not enjoy the sultan's favour and it seems improbable that the sultan would have sent him as the head of this important mission to ask for the Khwārazm-Shāh's daughter's hand in marriage. See also al-Bākharzī, op. cit., 144, where some verses seem to be referring to this event occurring during the reign of Toghrīl.

167. See also al-Bākharzī, op. cit., 141; IK, III, 294; Yāqūt, op. cit., V, 126.

168. The text has: **وَزَارَةُ بَاضٍ فِي رَاسِي دَسَاوَسَهَا**
Lit. has laid eggs in my head. For these verses see also al-Bākharzī, op. cit., 143.

169. A small town situated on the upper course of the river Murghāb in Khurāsān. Ist, 254, 261; Haw, 310, 315; Hud, 44, 93; Yaq, IV, 506;

Fida, 457; Must, 158; LEC, 404-5; EI^I, art. Merw al-Shāhidjān, Jakoubovsky.

170. Cf. IK, III, 294; Yāqūt, op. cit., V, 126.

171. The text has: **مراز باج**
See the text below and n. 172.

172. The exact location of the place is uncertain. It may well be Qara Bāgh as the editor of the text has suggested, which was a place among the dependencies of Bādghīs. The geographical location of the place supports this suggestion. See also, Later Ghaznavids, 25, n. 72.

173. The most probable date for this expedition would appear to be 434/1042 as it is during this period that we hear of the Saljūq movements around Bādghīs and of their besieging Herat. See IA, IX, 346-47; Later Ghaznavids, 25.

174. The reference is to sultan Sanjar who was captured by the Ghuzz in 548/1153 and remained their prisoner for a period of about three years. See the text, 123.

175. The text has: **حتى انكشفت عنه هبوب
وَعُتَاي السَّفَرِ**

Lit. Until the whirlwinds of the dust of the hardship of the journey had been removed from him.

176. This seems to have taken place in 435/1043.
See IA, IX, 354; Later Ghaznavids, 26.
177. A town of the district of Ṣaghāniyān (Chaghāniyān) in Transoxiana, situated on the northern bank of the Oxus at the junction point of the Zāmil river with the Oxus. Faq, 324; Ist, 298; Haw, 347-49; Hud, 109; Yaq, I, 843; Fida, 501; Must, 261; LEC, 440; EI^I, art. Tirmidh, Barthold.
178. He is Abu'l-Ḥasan Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, better known as Amīrak Bayhaqī (see the text below). He belonged to the 'Anbarī family of Bayhaq and was in charge of the intelligence service (ṣāḥib al-barīd) at Balkh for Mas'ūd of Ghazna. During Mawdūd's reign he was first the kūtwāl of the citadel of Tirmidh and then in charge of his correspondence department (dīwān inshā') where he continued until the end of 'Abd al-Rashīd's reign. During the reign of sultan Farrukh-Zād, he worked as the sultan's secretary (dabīr). He died in 448/1056.
Bayh, 342, 643; Ibn Funduq, Tārīkh Bayhaq, 120-21; Later Ghaznavids, 10.
179. A district in Khurāsān to the west of Nīshāpūr. Yaq, I, 804; Fida, 442; Must, 149; LEC, 391; EI^{II}, art. Bayhaq, Lambton.

180. A learned man who was in charge of the affairs of Balkh on behalf of Chaghri Beg Dā'ūd and later served as his wazīr. He also worked for Alp-Arslan in the same capacity. Under his patronage Abū 'Alī Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī (the future Nizām al-Mulk) started his administrative career (see the text below). See IA, IX, 49, X, 140, 273, 373; IK, I, 413; 'Abbās, 36, 47; Later Ghaznavids, 11.
181. This would appear to have been after the defeat of the Ghaznavids in 435/1043. See n. 176 above.
182. The neighbouring town of Ṣaghāniyān which lay to the north-east of Balkhand Tirmidh on the river Qubādiyān, a tributary of the Oxus. Ist, 296, 341; Haw, 350, 402; Hud, 41; Yaq, IV, 26; Must, 156; LEC, 439.
183. The northern part of Khuttal (Khuttalān) to the north-west of Badakhshān and north-east of Qubādiyān.
It was the source of the river Wakhshab (Surkhāb) a tributary of the Oxus. Ist, 295-97; Haw, 347-49; Hud, 40-1, 119; Yaq, IV, 909; Fida, 503; Must, 228; LEC, 435-39.
184. A town in Ṭukhāristān to the east of Balkh and Tirmidh and to the west of Ṭālaqān.

Ist, 275, 279; Haw, 326; Muq, 296; Hud, 100; Yaq, IV, 940; Fida, 473; LEC, 428.

185. A town with a citadel in Khwārazm on the left bank of the Oxus. Ist, 299, 301-2; Haw, 350, 352; Muq, 287, 289; Yaq, IV, 971; Fida, 479; Must, 180, 258; LEC, 450-52; EI^{II}, art. Hazārasp, Spuler.

186. An important town in northern Khwārazm on the western side of the lower Oxus. Ist, 299; Haw, 350; Hud, 123; Yaq, IV, 260; Fida, 479; Must, 258; LEC, 447-48; EI^{II}, art. Gurgāndj, Spuler.

187. A Turkish people whose territories extended to the north of the second abode of the Pechenegs (i.e. between the Volga and Ural-Emba rivers) as far as Manqishlāgh (see the text, 40).

For details see Hud, 87; Hud (Commentary), 315-17; al-Kāshgharī, Dīwan lughāt al-Turk, I, 273, III, 22; Turkestan, passim; A.B. Boswell, "The Kipchak Turks", The Slavonic Review VI (1927-28), 68-85; EI^I, art. Kipchak, Barthold; EI^{II}, art. Kıpçak, Hazai; S. Akiner, Islamic Peoples of the Soviet Union, (London, 1983), 55, 94, 147-48, 202-3, 373-74.

188. These events, i.e., the capture of the towns mentioned above by malik Dā'ūd and the attending

of the Qipchaq chief on him can be fixed roughly between 435/1043 and 440/1048-49, i.e. after the defeat of the Ghaznawids at the hands of Alp-Arslan (n. 176 above) and the failure of their grand offensive to wrest Khurāsān from the Saljūqs in 441/1050 (see n. 191 below).

See also, Iranian World, 52-3.

189. In fact Abū Kālījār's brother Abū Manṣūr Farāmurz was the ruler of Iṣfahān and he (Abū Kālījār) seems to be staying with him on this occasion after having lost his own dominion (Hamadān) to Ibrāhīm Īnal in 437/1045. See IA, IX, 338-39, 360; see also Bosworth, "Dailamīs in Central Iran: The Kākūyids of Jibāl and Yazd" Iran, VIII (1970), 81-4, reproduced in idem, The Medieval History of Iran, Afghanistan and Central Asia, (London, 1977), V.
190. The reference here is probably to the Qarakhānid ruler Borī-Tegin, also known as Tamghach Khān Ibrāhīm b. Naṣr (444-60/1052-68). At this time he seems to be an associate of his brother Muḥammad (433-44/1041-52). IA, IX, 334. See also Turkestan, 303; O. Pritsak, "Die Karachaniden", Der Islam, XXXI (1953-54), 44-5 reproduced in idem, Studies in Medieval Eurasian History, (London, 1981), XVI; H. Howorth, "The Northern Frontiers of China: The Muḥammadan Turks of

Turkestan from the Tenth to the Thirteenth Century", JRAS (1898), 487-88; Iranian World, 52; EI^{II}, art. Ilek-Khān, Bosworth; Dynasties, 111.

191. These events were in 441/1050.

IA, IX, 381-82; for a general survey of the relationship between Mawdūd and the Saljūqs see Hāshmī, 55-8; Later Ghaznavids, 25-30.

192. The text has: **وقرع باب المعالجة**
For its literal translation see n. 82 above.

193. These events seem to have taken place during the last part of Farrukh-Zād's reign after which both sides agreed to make peace and a treaty was worked out (see the text below) either shortly before the death of Farrukh-Zād in 451/1059 or immediately after the accession of Ibrāhīm b. Mas'ūd to the throne of Ghazna.

IA, IX, 401, X, 3-4; Hāshmī, 69, 72-3;
Later Ghaznavids, 49-52.

194. He is Abu'l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī, a well-known historian of the 5th/11th century and the author of the Tā' rīkh Bayhaqī. He worked as secretary (dabīr) for various contemporary Ghaznawid sultans.

Ibn Funduq, op. cit., 175-78; EI^I, art. al-Baihaqī, Barthold; EI^{II}, art. al-Bayhaqī,

Naficy.

195. See n. 193 above.
196. Cf. Bun, 28, who has his death in 450/1058; IA, X, 4, who has it in 451. IA's date is more probable as unlike other sources he stresses his date. He also gives the date as 452 preceded by qīla, which denotes unauthenticity in a statement.
197. Our text omits, probably because of its being too short and unimportant, the reign of Sulaymān b. Chaghrī Beg, the younger brother of Alp-Arslan who was nominated as successor by sultan Toghrīl. For the events of his reign see Nish, 21-2; Bun, 26, 28; IA, X, 18-9.
198. The Ms. and the text has jāzim. A translation has been suggested for jārim. See Ibn al-ʿAdīm, Bughyat al-ṭalab, ed. A. Sevim, (Ankara, 1976), 35.
199. A town and district in the province of al-Jibāl lying between Hamadān and Rayy on the high road from Qazwīn to Qum at a short distance to the north above the river once called Gawmāha or Gāwmāsa and then Qara-Ṣū. Ist, 196; Haw, 257-58; Hud, 142; Yaq, III, 24; Fida, 419; Must, 62; LEC, 211-12; EI^I, art. Sāwa, Minorsky.
200. He is ʿImād al-Dawla Nāṣir al-Dīn Abū Manṣūr

Sarhang al-Khāṣṣ Saw-Tegin, a eunuch slave commander of sultan Alp-Arslan and then of his son Malik-Shāh.

He had joined the Saljūq army as early as their occupation of Baghdad during sultan Toghrīl's reign. He is said to have been one of those commanders who went in pursuit of al-Basāsīrī (451/1061) to capture him and bring him before the sultan. (For these events see the text, 18-21)

He rose to real eminence, however, during the reign of sultan Alp-Arslan and then his son Malik-Shāh and led a number of campaigns on their behalf (see the text, 31, 44, 56, 57, 58, 61, 63).

Besides these campaigns he also took part in a number of other battles aimed at bringing Ganja and other parts of Arrān, Shirwān and Darband (Bāb al-abwāb) into the Saljūq fold during the reigns of sultan Alp-Arslan and Malik-Shāh. These campaigns took place between 460/1168 and 468/1075. At last Fadlūn III, the Shaddādid ruler of Ganja surrendered to the Saljūq army and Saw-Tegin was appointed amīr there (468/1075). In the same year Aḥmad b. 'Alī arrived in Darband as the deputy of sultan Malik-Shāh and Saw-Tegin. He deposed the local ruler Maymūn b. Manṣūr b. 'Abd al-Malik and read

the khutba in the name of the sultan and Saw-Tegin. He died in 477/1084 at Isfahān.

Bun, 18, 48-9, 77-8; IA, X, 63, 194; Aḥmad Kasrawī, Shahriyārān gum-nām, (Tehran, 1335/1957), part III, 304-13; Shaddādids, 24-5, 65-7; V. Minorsky, History of Sharvān and Darband, (Cambridge, 1958), 41, 53-5, 66, 73-4; Iranian World, 35, 58, 75, 88-91, 95; see also A. Hasan, "Münejjim Bāshī's Account of Sultan Malik Shāh's Reign", Islamic Studies, III, 4 (1964), 431, 435, 447, 453.

201. The reference is probably to a village which lay between Nīshāpūr and Sarakhs. Must, 174-75.

202. A little-known place which appears to have been situated between Rayy and Hamadān. Must, 280; Ibn Rusta, Les atours précieux, tr. G. Wiet, (Cairo, 1955), 194; P. Schwarz, Iran im Mittelalter nach den arabischen Geographen, (Leipzig, 1925), II, 548.

203. A place with a citadel in the eastern Alburz mountains at a distance of one day's march from Damghān towards Bistām. Yaq, II, 539; Must, 161; LEC, 365.

204. The text has: **فلما وضعت الحرب أوزارها**
 Lit. When war laid down its arms.

وسكن الفتح والظفر غبارها

205. The text has:

Lit. When victory and triumph had settled their dust.

206. Cf. Nish, 22; Bun, 28-9; IA, X, 23-4.

It is interesting to note that our text seems to be the only source which discusses the role of amīr Saw-Tegin in this battle.

Nish. and Bun give a very brief account of the event and Raw omits it.

207. For this personage see also the text, p. 25 above and pp. 32-4 and n. 215 below.

208. An official in the court whose job as is evident from the text here was to take care of the stables of the sultans and maliks. See A.K.S. Lambton, "The Internal Structure of the Saljūq Empire", in Cambridge History of Iran, V, 226; EI^I, art. Sālār, Büchner; EI^{II}, art. Amīr Akhur, Ayalon.

209. The text has فجذب لصبغه (dab'a) which seems

to be inappropriate here. The translation is provided on the basis of the reading لصنغه —

(ṣun'a).

210. The order of the sentence has slightly been changed in the translation. The text has:

وتلفت لضاغته وفنى دهنه.

فصدقه سين بكره

211. The text has:
For this Arabic expression see bakara in Lexicon.
212. For this personage see the text, 54, 59, 85-6.
213. For this personage see the text, 34, 40, 54, 84-6, n. 241.
214. See the text, 86.
215. For the amīd see also Munt, IX, 128-39. Ibn al-Jawzī praises him for his beneficent acts and says that he died in 494/1100 at Nīshāpūr. Our text is probably the only source which furnishes us with such an interesting account of the activities of the 'amīd.
216. The term is generally used for Asia Minor which formed the major part of the Byzantine empire. LEC, 127; EI^I, art. Rūm, Babinger.
217. A town once in Iraq and then in the province of al-Jibāl which lay at the mouth of the Zagros passes on the Khurāsān road. Ist, 87, 200; Haw, 168, 262; Hud, 153; Yaq, II, 316; Fida, 307; Must, 40; LEC, 191; EI^{II}, art. Hulwān, Lockhart.
218. A town in Āzarbā ījān to the east of Khuy and to the north of Tabrīz. Khur, 119; Ist, 182; Haw, 239; Yaq, IV, 503; Fida, 401; Must, 88;

LEC, 166; EI^I, art. Marand, Minorsky.

219. The text has: 

The translation provided here is for shahīr as suggested by the editor.

220. The reference here is to Zahīr al-Dīn Abū Mansūr Tugh-Tegin who played a very active role in the affairs of Syria and in the early Crusades.

Tutush b. Alp-Arslan, the Saljūq ruler of Syria (471-88/1078-95), appointed him as atabeg to his son Duqaq, but after the death of Duqaq in 497/1104, Tugh-Tegin became the real lord of Damascus and founded the Būrid dynasty, named after his son Būrī.

Tugh-Tegin died in 522/1128 and his descendants ruled in Damascus until its capture by Nūr al-Dīn Zangī in 549/1154. See IA, X, 25, 169, 211, 212, 257-8, 281, 459, XI, 130; IK, I, 274-75; Ibn al-Qalānīsī, The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades, tr. H.A.R. Gibb, (London, 1932), 62, 65, 183-86; EI^I, art. Tughtegin, Zettersteen; EI^I, art. Būrids, Sobernheim; EI^{II}, art. Būrids, Le Tourneau.

221. A town and a citadel in Armenia between Tiflīs and Khilāṭ (Akhilāṭ) to the south-east of Ānī on the right bank of the river Araxes.

Yaq, III, 82; Fida, 403; Shaddādids, 88, n.4.

222. The exact location of this place remains obscure. However, one may deduce from the text and IA, X, 25-6 that the place lay somewhere between Tiflīs and Akhlāt on the bank of the river Araxes.

According to Honigmann and Minorsky the place is probably to be identified with "Marmarashen" in "Shirak". See E. Honigmann, Die Ostgrenze Des Byzantinischen Reiches, (Brussels, 1935), 187; Shaddādids, 97, n.2.

223. The text has: **ووصل في الحرب برواجه وعشيته إباحه**
Lit. His coming joined with his going and his evening joined with his morning during the war.

224. For these events see also IA, X, 25-6.

225. The text has: **مجزر (?)** A translation has been given for khavar, **خبر (?)**

226. The exact location of this place is unknown. However, it seems safe to suggest that the place lay in the vicinity of Kars and Ani.

According to Honigmann it probably corresponds to "T'et'ris-c'ikhē" of the Georgians, which lay on the borders between "K'art'li" and Kars.

(Op. cit., 187, n.4.) Cf. Minorsky, who cautiously suggests Aqja-qala' (white fortress) on the lower Debeda. Shaddādids, 97-8, n.2.

227. IA, X, 26, has A'āl-Lāl. It too remains

unidentified. For a discussion of the possible location of this place cf. V. Minorsky, "Transcaucasica", Journal Asiatique, CCXVII (1930), 111-12; Shaddādids, 97, n.2; Honigmann, op. cit., 187, n. 10.

228. See also IA, X, 26-8.

229. A town in Armenia and then in Georgia to the north-east of Erzurum at a distance of two days' journey from Tiflīs to the south-west.

Modern Kars is a town in eastern Turkey. Yaq, IV, 57; Must, 93-94; LEC, 181; EI^I, art. Kars, Barthold.

230. An important town in Armenia between Khilāt (Akhlāt) and Ganja. Yaq, I, 70; Must, 93; LEC, 139, 183; EI^{II}, art. Anī, Barthold, Minorsky.

231. IA has, as the editor notes, Dasal-Warda for the first one (X, 27). Both places are unknown. According to Honigmann they must have been south of Chaldyr-göl on the lake of Palakachis. See op. cit., 188.

232. The text has: **وبالخوافى الانجان**
The translation here has been given for **انجاز**, injāz. Cf. the editor's note who suggests **انجار** (?)

233. The text has: **الثياب الحمراء** (?)

234. For further details see hasaba in Lexicon.
235. For details see khaṭṭa in Lexicon.
236. See rasala in Lexicon.
237. For these events see also IA, X, 27-8.
238. A peninsula in the remote borders of Khwārazm on the north-eastern shores of the Caspian sea. Ist, 217-18; Haw, 249, 277; Yaq, IV, 670; EI^I, art. Mangishlak, Barthold.
239. A town in Transoxiana at a day's march to the north-west of Shawaghar on the way to Jand. Ist, 346; Haw, 390, 405; Hud, 118; Yaq, III, 366; LEC, 486.
240. IA places these events in 457/1065. (X, 33.)
241. The sources differ on the relationship of this personage with sultan Alp-Arslan.

IA has him in one place as Alp-Arslan's brother, (X, 34) and in another as his son, (X, 178-79).

Bun, 47, 85, 256-58 refers to him as the sultan's son.

Nish, 37 and Raw, 143 have him as "sultan Berk-Yaruq b. Malik-Shāh's uncle", i.e. sultan Alp-Arslan's son.

The form of the name also varies in the sources from Arslan-Arghu in some places to Arslan-Arghun in others.

In view of this it is not possible to identify who exactly this person was. Cahen has surmised that there seems to exist two personages bearing similar names (EI^{II}, art. Arslān-Arghūn). This suggestion looks very probable. In this case, the one in question here, who was appointed as the amīr of Khwārazm, would appear to be sultan Alp-Arslan's brother (see IA, X, 34) and not his son as our text has it. The other Arslan-Arghun or Arghu who was the "iqṭā'-holder of the out-lying regions of Hamadān and Sāwa" (see the text, 84-6) in all likelihood seems to be Alp-Arslan's son as all the sources appear to agree.

242. A small town near Tūs in Khurāsān.
Ist, 257; Haw, 313; Muq, 51; Yaq, II, 730;
Must, 149; LEC, 393-94.

243. IA places these events in 458/1066. (X, 34.)

244. The text has: **فطار واجيباً بأجنحة الرعب**
Lit. flew with the wings of horror.

245. The text has: **لا تولى اولاهم على اخراهم**
Lit. Their first were not followed by their last.

246. A southern district of Kirmān which had a city of the same name. The ruins of this place are called Shahr Daqyānūs (the city of Decius)

lying near the town of Sabzāwarān.

Khur 49; Faq, 206; Ist, 159; Haw, 219;
Hud, 126; Yaq, II, 174; Fida, 337; Must,
140; LEC, 314; EI^{II}, art. Djīruft, Frye.

247. The original Ms. has afrāh which seems to be the
most suitable word here. The editor suggests
aqrāh (? wounds) which is quite inappropriate.

248. A northern town and district of the province of
Fārs which was located above the junction of
the rivers Pulwār (Furwāb) and Cyrus (Kur) at
a distance of 12 farsakhs from Shīrāz.
Khur, 48; Faq, 203; Ist, 97, 121, 123, 130;
Haw, 192, 194, 200; Hud, 131; Ibn Balkhī,
Fārs-Nāma, ed. G. Le Strange, A. Nicolson, (London,
1921), 121, 127; Yaq, I, 299; Fida, 329;
Must, 120; G. Le Strange, Description of the
Province of Fārs in Persia at the Beginning of
the Fourteenth Century A.D. (London, 1912), 19;
LEC, 275; EI^{II}, art. Iṣṭakhr, Streck.

249. The reference is to the legendary hero of the
Iranians. See EI^{II}, art. Djamshīd, Huart, Massé.

250. For these events see also Bun, 30-1; Raw, 118;
IA, X, 36-7.

251. A city of Arrān to the north-west of Bardhu'a
at a distance of a few farsakhs on the road to

Tiflīs. It forms the present-day town of Kirovabad in Soviet Āzarbā Ījān. Ist, 187, 193; Haw, 244, 251; Hud, 161; Yaq, II, 132; Must, 91; LEC, 178; EI^{II}, art. Gandja, Barthold, Boyle.

252. The text has: **ونفخ الشيطان في مناخره وضرب
بالاسداده في ادائل امره واواخره.**

Lit. Satan blew in his nostrils and erected barriers at the beginning and end of his affairs.

253. The text has: **استبك سكان القلعه لجروة
الاستيما.**

Lit. The occupants seized the rope of safe-conduct.

254. The author of our text has committed a grave mistake here by confusing Faḍlūya (or Faḍlawayh) b. Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. Ayyūb, the Shabankārā'ī Kurdish lord of Fārs (454-c. 61/1062-c. 69) with Faḍlūn (Faḍl II), the Shaddādīd ruler of Ganja (459-66/1067-73).

The incident in question took place probably in 460-61/1068-69 as would appear from the chronology of the text and not in 464/1071 as IA (X, 48) and the editor of the text seem to suggest.

The reason for the confusion in the sources seems to be the fact that during the same period

sultan Alp-Arslan was moving about in and around the territories of the Shaddādids. Because of the resemblance between the names of the lords of Arrān and of Fārs (Faḍl, Faḍlūn and Faḍlūya, Faḍlawayh), the sources have probably mistaken one for the other. See Ibn al-Balkhī, op. cit., 166; H. Bowen, "The Last Buwayhids", JRAS (1929), 240, 244; cf. Shaddādids, 23, 64-5; Minorsky, History of Sharvān and Darband, 37; D. Allen, A History of the Georgian People, (London, 1932), 91-2; Iranian World, 59-60.

255. A West Caucasian people. Their country which was called Abkhāzya after their name, lay on the shores of the Black Sea adjacent to Darband at a distance of two days' march from Shirwān. Ist, 192; Haw, 251; Muq, 381; Hud (Commentary), 456; Yaq, I, 78; EI^{II}, art. Abkhāz, Barthold, Minorsky; LEC, 181; Encyclopaedia Iranica, art. Abkhāz, Giunashvili; S. Akiner, Islamic People of the Soviet Union, (London, 1983), 220-22.

256. He is Bagrāt IV, the son of Giorgi (418-65/1027-72). He was the grandson of the Abkhazian princess Gurandukht. See Allen, op. cit., 88, 91; EI^{II}, art. al-Kurdj, Minorsky, Bosworth. EI^{II}, art. Abkhāz, Barthold, Minorsky.

257. Once the capital city of the province of Arrān and at times a town in the province of Āzarbā ījān and Armenia. The town stood on the bank of the river Tharthūr (Terter) at a distance of two or three farsakhs from the river Cyrus (Kur).

Ist, 182; Haw, 240; Hud, 161; Yaq, I, 558; Fida, 403; Must, 91; LEC, 177-78; EI^I, art. Bardha'a, Barthold; EI^{II}, art. Bardha'a, Dunlop.

258. To put the events in a chronological order one might be led to suggest that the possible date of the attack of the king of the Abkhāz on Bardhu'a should be before 460/1067-68, in order to allow suitable space for the sultan to come to Bardhu'a and then return to Fārs via Ganja on hearing of the death of the khāqān of the Turks (see the text, 46) which had occurred in 460/1068.

Mūnejjim Bashī places the event in 457/1065. See Shaddādids, 22, 65.

259. A principality which sometimes formed part of Armenia, sometimes was in the province of Arrān and at other times was a dependency of Shirwān. It lay on the river Cyrus near Tiflīs to the west of Qabala (Shirwān) and to the east of Kakhetia (Georgia).

Present-day Shakkī which is divided into two districts, Nūkha and Ārish, forms a part of

Soviet Āzarbā ījān. Hud, 50, 163-65; Hud
(Commentary), 398; Yaq, III, 311; Minorsky,
A History of Sharvān and Darband, 83-4;
EI^I, art. Shekki, Minorsky.

260. He is the Bagratid Aghsartani I, the son of
Gagik. Allen, op. cit., 91; Shaddādids, 20,
and n. 13, p. 31.

261. Cf. the text p. 47, n. 281.

262. The text has: عرکتی الضلالة عرک الدم -
Lit. Faithlessness has rubbed me like the skin
is rubbed.

263. The text has: وکلع وجه الشتاء
Lit. The face of winter turned grim.

264. The text has: فرد السلطان کیده فی نحره -
Lit. rejected in his throat.

265. The reference is probably to a place called Qalā
Ibn Kandmān which lay between Tiflīs and Shamkūr
on the bank of the river Cyrus, as Minorsky
suggests. See Ist, 193; Haw, 251; Muq, 383;
Hud, 398; Shaddādids, 66, n. 1.

266. Cf. the text, p. 28, n. 190 above.

267. The text has: قد اكل الدهر عليه وشرب -
Lit. The time had eaten and drunk over him.
For details of this Arabic expression see Aḥmad

b. Muḥammad al-Maydānī, Majma' al-amthāl,
(Beirut, 1961), I, 57.

268. The 'Abbāsīd caliph (218-27/833-42). Dynasties,
7.

269. The text has: **قد دارت عليه الأعمار والأطوار**
Lit. Many ages and stages had rotated around
him.

270. The text has: **امدق من القطا**
For this expression see ṣadaqa in Lexicon.

271. The chronology of these events is confused and
other sources do not seem to be helpful. Mūnejjim
Bashī' however offers some additional information.
See Shaddādids, 22-3. For Minorsky's commentary
on the information of our text see further ibid,
64-7. See also idem, A History of Sharvān and
Darband, 67.

272. The reference here is to Romanus IV Diogenes
(461-64/1068-1071). See S. Vryonis, JR., The
Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and
the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh
through the Fifteenth Century, (Berkeley, Los
Angeles, London, 1971), 96-104.

273. The text has: **بنايك الجياد**
Lit. With the hooves of the horses.

274. See also Bun, 37-8; IA, X, 42-4.
275. A town in Āzarbā Ījān to the north-east of Salmās.
Khur 119; Faq, 285; Ist, 181; Haw, 239;
Yaq, II, 502; Fida, 397; Must, 84-85;
LEC, 166.
276. A district situated to the north-west of the
lake of Urmiya in Āzarbā Ījān. Khur, 119;
Ist, 181-82; Haw, 239; Yaq, III, 120;
Fida, 397; Must, 85; LEC, 166; EI^I, art.
Salmās, Minorsky.
277. Raw, 119 has 600,000; IA, X, 44 has 200,000.
278. The text has: افلاذ كبد طا -
Lit. The pieces of its heart.
279. A Turkic people who had taken as their abode the
region between the Volga and Ural-Emba rivers
after being driven away by the Ghuzz (ca. 215/
830) from their original territory, between the
Aral Sea and the Jaxartes river.

Their resettlement made them neighbours of
different tribes such as the Ghuzz, Qipchaqs
and Khazārs.

They were once again ousted from their second
abode by the Ghuzz and their allies and were
forced to settle in the lands between the
Danube and Don rivers. This seems to have

taken place during 275-76/888-89. Al-Kāshgharī, Dīwān lughāt al-Turk, I, 27; Hud, 87, 190-91; Hud (Commentary), 312-15; Sharaf al-Zamān Marwazī, China, The Turks and India, tr.

V. Minorsky, (London, 1942), 32-3; for further details see O. Pritsak, "The Pečenegs: A Case of Social and Economic Transformation" in Peter de Ridder Press, Lisse, 1976 (= Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi I (1975)), reproduced in idem, Studies in Medieval Eurasian History, (London, 1981), X, especially, pp. 8-9; A. Macartney, "The Petchenegs", The Slavonic (and East European Review) VIII (1929-30), 342-55; EI^I, art. Pečenegs, Bajraktarevic.

280. A confederation of the nine tribes of the Orkhon inscriptions originally called Toghuzghuzz (Toguz Oghuz, nine Oghuz), which was then subdivided into 24 different clans.

They were sedentary and nomadic people and occupied a vast territory, the boundaries of which can roughly be fixed as between China, Tibet and Khwārazm stretching along the Caspian Sea to its east and north.

In pre-Islamic and medieval Islamic times their ruler was called Yabghu who had a winter capital at Yengi-Kent which lay near Jand.

See Ist, 9-10, 214, 290, 299; Haw, 14, 340,

350, 393; Gardīzī, (ed. 'Abd al-Ḥayy Ḥabībī), 266-68; Hud, 76, 86, 123; al-Kāshgharī, op. cit., 56-7; Rashīd al-Dīn, Jāmī' al-tawārīkh, I, 1, (Moscow, 1965), 89-129; D. Ross, "The Orkhon Inscriptions: Being a Translation of Professor Vilhelm Thomsen's Final Danish Rendering", BSOAS, V (1928-30), 862; Iranian World, 16-7; EI^I, art. Ghuzz, Barthold; EI^{II}, art. Ghuzz, Cahen. For further details see Turkestan, passim; Hud (Commentary), 263-77; Ghaznavids, 210-26; O. Pritsak, "The Decline of the Empire of the Oghuz Yabghu" in op. cit., 279-92.

281. Minorsky notes that there is evidence of the presence of "Varangians", who come from northern Europe, in the service of Bagrat IV.

In view of this it would appear that the same people are referred to here as "al-Faranj" in the armies of the Byzantine king and of Akhsatān (text, 44).

Minorsky seems to prefer "al-Kurj" instead of "al-Faraj" here (Shaddādids, 65, n.1), although the manuscript does not justify such a reading. Cf. Bun, 39 who has both "al-Faranj" and "al-Kurj".

282. The text has: اطالت الفتن بجم سواعدها
Lit. stretched their forearms.....

283. The text has: **واعلت النصرانية
باجتبا عصم قواعدها**.

Lit. Christianity elevated its foundations....

284. They both seem to be on the way to Hamadān.
Cf. the text, 49.

285. Raw, 119 has 12,000.

286. He is Amīn al-Dawla Abū Sa'd b. al 'Alā' b. al-
Hasan b. Wahb b. al-Mawṣilāyā.

He entered the service of the caliph al-Qā'im
in 432/1040 as munshī and remained in the dīwān
of the 'Abbāsīd caliphs until his death in 497/
1104.

He was a Christian, but he accepted Islam in
484/1091 during the reign of the caliph al-
Muqtadī. Bun, 25, 35, 54, 77, 79; Munt, IX,
80; IA, X, 259; IK, II, 415.

287. See al-Qur'ān, LXI : 10-1.

288. The text has: **وواصل في الانتصار لدينك
يوماً بامس.**

Lit. has joined his today with his
yesterday for the

289. Regarding this du'ā', cf. also chapter I, pp. 22-
3 above.

290. See al-Qur'ān, XXV : 77.

291. The place-name seems to be al-Rahwa, as the editor suggests and can be confirmed from Munt, VIII, 261. It was a desert near Akhlāt. See also Khur, 100; Yaq, II, 880.
292. A town in Armenia lying on the north-western shore of Lake Van. See Khur, 122; Faq, 287; Ist, 188; Haw, 245; Yaq, II, 457-58; Fida, 395; Must, 100; LEC, 183; EI^{II}, art. Akhlāt, Taeschner.
293. An Armenian district and town to the south of Erzerum and north of Lake Van. Haw, 245-46; Hud, 160; Yaq, IV, 648; Fida, 395; Must, 101-02; LEC, 115-16; EI^I, art. Malāzgerd, Büchner.
294. See al-Qur'ān, VIII : 10.
295. According to Nish, 24; Bun, 38, he returned to Tabrīz.
296. A province in Persia bounded to the south by the Alburz mountains and to the north by the Caspian Sea. To its east lies the province of Jurjān and to its west the province of Gīlān.
- Māzandarān is also called Ṭabaristān, but when both the names are used at the same time (see the text, p. 89), the latter appears to have been used for the south-eastern part of the province. See Ist, 211; Haw, 271; Hud, 144-46; Muq, 159-62; Yaq, III, 501-2, IV, 392;

Fida, 432-33, 435, 437; LEC, 7, 368-70;
EI^I, art. Ṭabaristān, Huart, art. Māzandarān,
 Vasmer.

واصطلم الف الخي

297. The text has:

Lit. Smashed the nose of

298. The text has: واحاطت بملك الروم يد الأسر والهلكة

Lit. The hand of capture and disaster encircled
 the Byzantine king.

299. A Turkish ghulām commander of sultan Alp-Arslan
 and the shahna of Baghdad during the reigns of
 Alp-Arslan and Malik-Shāh.

He formerly belonged to the Būyid Abū Kālījār
 Marzbān and came to Baghdad during Toghrīl's
 reign.

In a battle in 493/1100 (text, 77) between
 Berk-Yaruq and Muḥammad, the sons of sultan
 Malik-Shāh, he sided with the former and was
 killed on the battlefield.

See Bun, 44, 52; IA, X, 47, 200-1; Munt, IX,
 115-16.

300. A large town in Khwārazm on the western bank of
 the Oxus between Hazārasp and Ṭāhīriyya.

Ist, 299; Haw, 350; Muq, 289; Yaq, II, 567-
 68; Fida, 481; Must, 258; LEC, 451.

301. For a general account of the battle of Malāzgird

see also Nish, 24-7; Bun, 38-44; Munt, VIII, 260-65; Raw, 119-20; IA, X, 44-6; A. Friendly, The Dreadful Day: The Battle of Manzikert, 1071, (London, 1981); Cahen, "La Campagne de Mantzikert d'après les sources musulmanes", Byzantion, IX (1934), 613-42; EI^{II}, art. Malāzgird, Hillenbrand (forthcoming).

302. IA, X, 45, has 1,500,000 dīnārs. Nish, 27 and IA, add some more conditions of the agreement which are as follows:-

1. The Byzantine king would aid the sultan with his army in time of need.
2. The king would pay an annual tribute of 360,000 dīnārs to the sultan.
3. The Byzantines would set free all Muslim prisoners.

See also Raw, 120.

303. IA follows the fate of the Byzantine emperor and says that on his return to Rūm he learnt that he had been deprived of the throne by Mīkhā'īl. So he informed Mīkhā'īl about the agreement which had been drawn up between him and the sultan Alp-Arslan. Mīkhā'īl promised that he would honour it. Romanus sent the sultan the sum of 200,000 dīnārs and a golden tray full of jewels which amounted to 90,000 dīnārs. He himself adopted an ascetic life (X, 46). Other sources mention his subsequent

blinding and death in 464/1072. Ibn al-Qalānīsī, Dhayl tārīkh Dimashq, ed. H.F. Amedroz, (Leiden, 1908), 99; Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqī, Tārīkh al-Fāriqī, ed. B.A.L. 'Awad, (Cairo, 1959), 186-90; Ibn al-'Adim, Zubdat al-Ḥalab, ed. Sāmī al-Dahān, (Damascus, 1954), II, 23-30; Michael Psellus, Chronographia, tr. E.B.A. Sewter as The Chronographia of Michael Psellus, (London, 1953), 271-74.

304. I.e. "al-Walad al-Sayyid al-Ajall al-Mu'yyid al-Manṣūr al-Muẓaffar al-Sulṭān al-A'ẓam Malik al-'Arab wa'l-'Ajam Sayyid Mulūk al-Umam Diyā' al-Dīn Ghiyādh al-Muslimīn Zahīr al-Imām Kahf al-Anām Aḍud al-Dawlat al-Qāhira Tāj al-Millat al-Bāhira Sulṭān Diyār al-Musliman Burhan Amīr al-Mu'minīn." Our text seems to be the sole extant source for these honorific titles. Coins have yet to be discovered to support them.

305. The reference here is to Naṣr I b. Ibrāhīm Tamghach Khān (460-72/1068-80) of the western branch of the Qarakhānid dynasty. See IA, X, 49; Iranian World, 65; Dynasties, 111.

306. The citadel in question lay on the bank of the Jaxartes and was called Barzam. See Nish, 28; Raw, 120.

307. A farrāsh was a slave who was in charge of pitching the tents and spreading the carpets of the sultan. IK, III, 231. See also farasha in Lexicon.

308. Nish, 29, has his age as 44 years.

309. For these events see also Nish, 28-9; Bun, 45-7; Raw, 120-23; IA, X, 49-50. For a general survey of the life of Alp-Arslan see IK, III, 230-31; EI^{II}, art. Alp-Arslān, Cahen.

310. The text has:
 كان رحمه الله بين ملوك
 السلجوقيه واسطة العقد

Lit. He..... was the link of the necklace among.....

311. The text has:
 المشهور بالسعادة في الحل والعقد
 والتصرف في اقاليم الارض بالبط والقبط

Lit. He was well-known for good fortune in ... and in in giving and taking.


312. The text has:
 وافضى به وجه الملك الى
 اوامره ونواهيها نظرا.

Lit. The face of the kingdom began to look towards his orders and prohibitions.

313. He had been mustawfī since the reign of Alp-Arslan. He built several madrasas in Baghdad. He died in 494/1100 in Iṣfahān. See Bun, 31-2,

59; Munt, VIII, 245, XI, 128; 'Abbās, 54-5; Klausner, op. cit., 72, 105. See also the text, p. 69.

314. The reference here is to the Sāmānid dynasty (279-395/892-1005) of Iranian origin which held sway in Transoxiana and Khurāsān with Bukhārā as their capital. On their decline they lost their territories to the Qarakhānids and Ghaznawids. For details see ^{al-}Narshakhī, History of Bukhārā, tr. R.N. Frye, (Cambridge, Mass., 1954); Frye, "The Sāmānids: A Little Known Dynasty", Muslim World, XXXIV (1944), 40-5; Idem, "The Sāmānids", in Cambridge History of Iran, ed. R.N. Frye, (London, 1975), IV, 136-61; Turkestan, 209-54.

315. The text has:  Lit. He commenced and performed.

316. Nish, 30; and Raw, 126, specify the name of the place as Karaj.

317. Bun, 48; Munt, VIII, 277 and IA, X, 53-5 place the event in the year 465/1073. See also Afḍal al-Dīn Kirmānī, Badā'i' al-azmān fī waqā'i' Kirmān, ed. M. Bayānī, (Tehran, 1326/1947), 13 and Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, Tarīkh Saljūqiyyān Kirmān, ed. M.T. Houtsma in Recueil de Textes Relatifs à l'Histoire des Saljoucides, I,

(Leiden, 1886); 13, who have 466/1074.

318. The text has: **ندم ندامة الكسى** -

For this Arabic proverb see Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Nīshāpūrī al-Maydānī, Majma' al-amthāl, (Beirut, 1962), II, 401-2.

319. He is the 'Uqaylid lord of Mosul (453-78/1061-85). Dynasties, 55.

320. The text has: **فاوقدت صلة الرحم نيران الرحمة
بين احتشاء السلطان وصلوعهم** -

Lit. The kinship..... in the insides and ribs of the sultan.

321. The text has: **الملك عقيم** -

Cf. the text, p. 2, n. 10 above.

322. The text has: **ماء وجهي صار غوراً ولا
استطيع له طلباً** -

Lit. The water of my face has sunk down and I cannot ask for it.

323. For further details on this event, cf. Nish, 30-1; Bun, 48-9; Raw, 126-27; IA, X, 53-4; Afdal al-Dīn, op. cit., 12-3; Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, op. cit., 12-3.

324. He eventually became atabeg to sultan Malik-Shāh's son Muḥammad, the lord of Ganja, in 486/1096. Qutlugh-Tegin met his death at the hand of his own ward, Muḥammad. IA, X, 194.

325. They were Rukn al-Dawla Sultān-Shāh (467-77/1074-85) and 'Imad al-Dawla Muḥyī al-Dīn Tūrān-Shāh (477-90/1085-97).

On leaving Kirmān for Rayy, Qawurt had made his son Kirmān-Shāh his deputy in his domains. He died presumably in 467/1073-74 before the arrival in Kirmān of his brother Sultān-Shāh, the nominee of sultan Malik-Shāh. In the interim period it seems that Ḥusayn, an infant son of Qawurt was raised to the throne.

For details see Afdal al-Dīn, op. cit., 14-9; Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, op. cit., 13-21. See also Iranian World, 91-2.

326. Cf. the text, 16, n. 112 above.

327. A district of Khurāsān to the north of Herat.

In recent times Bādghīs forms the north-western part of the province of Herat in modern Afghanistan. Khur, 18; Faq, 321; Ist, 254; Haw, 310; Hud, 92; Yaq, I, 461; Fida, 455; Must, 153; LEC, 412; EI^{II}, art. Bādghīs or Badhghīs, Barthold, Allchin.

328. A mountainous region which lay between Herat and Ghūr. Hud, 93; Yaq, III, 785; LEC, 415-16; EI^{II}, art. Ghardjistān, Frye.

329. See the text, p. 53, n. 305.

330. For details on the Qarakhānid dynasty see O. Pritsak, "Die Karachaniden", Der Islam, XXXI, (1953-54), 17-68; idem, "Karachanidische Streitfragen, 1-4", Oriens, II (1950), 209-28; reproduced in idem, Studies in Medieval Eurasian History, (London, 1981), XVI, XVII; H. Howorth, op. cit., 467-502. Turkestan, 254-322; EI^{II}, art. Ilek-Khāns, Bosworth.

331. The text has: **كلام يحكى وقع الحسام وخز السهام**
Lit. of the falling of swords and the striking of arrows.

332. Our text's account of these events is a more detailed one and provides us with unique information about the exchange of messages between sultan Malik-Shāh and the Qarakhānid Naṣr I b. Ibrāhīm. Cf. IA, X, 52, 63-4. See also Turkestan, 314-15; Iranian World, 90-1.

333. See also Bun, 50-1; Munt, VIII, 291-92, 95-6; IA, X, 64-6.

334. He is Fakhr al-Dawla Mu'iyid al-Dīn Abū Naṣr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Jahīr.

Born in Mosul in 398/1007-8, he worked as wazīr for a number of regional rulers of 'Uqaylid, Mirdāsid and Marwānid dynasties and eventually took over as wazīr to the caliph al-Qā'im in 454/1062. After the caliph's death in 467/1075,

he continued to serve his successor al-Muqtadī in the same capacity, but soon fell from favour and was removed from the office in 471/1078.

However, in 476/1083-84, sultan Malik-Shāh assigned him Diyārbakr, where he (Ibn Jahīr) ousted the Marwānid ruler Nāsir al-Dawla Abu'l-Muẓaffar Maṣṣūr in 479/1086 and seized the territory.

He died in 483/1090 and was buried in Mosul. See IA, X, 11, 14-5, 65, 67, 74 (first pagination), 83, 86-7, 121; IK, III, 280-84; Sayf al-Dīn Ḥājī b. Niẓām 'Aqīlī, Āthār al-wuzarā' (Tehran, 1959), 136-40; Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqī, op. cit., 142-82; EI^{II}, art. Djahīr (Banū), Cahen.

335. The reference here is to a village to the south of Herat. Yaq, IV, 499; Fida, 445; LEC, 410.

336. The text has: **إيقاظ اجفان الحداوة**
Lit. awakening the eyelids of hostility.

337. A pre-Islamic military term which survived down to the late medieval Islamic period and which as well as being used as a title by a line of the Bāwandid dynasty of Ṭabaristān and Gīlān (see isfahbad 'Alī, text, 104), denotes a military leader, a chief or a notable of a locality. Anon, Mujmal al-tawārīkh wa'l-qisṣaṣ,

ed. Malik al-Shu'rā' Bahār (Tehran, 1318/1939), 420; EI^{II}, art. Iṣfahbadh, Bosworth.

338. An easternmost district of Jurjān. Its modern name is Hājjīlar. Must, 160; H.L. Rabino, Māzandarān and Astarābād, (London, 1928), 84; LEC, 375. The modern name must not be confused with another town of the same name in Āzarbāījān which appears on some modern maps. For some other references to a later iṣfahbadh of Kabūd-Jāma see al-Juwaynī, Tārīkh Jahān-Gūsha, ed. M. Qazwīnī, II, 71, 83, 84, 222, 223; Muḥammad 'Awfī, Lubāb al-albāb, ed. E.G. Browne, M. Qazwīnī, (London, 1906), I, 51-2, and the note, p. 304.
339. A town in Transoxiana at a distance of three days' march from Samarqand to the south-west. Ist, 325, 337; Haw, 377-78, 399; Muq, 282-83; Hud, 108; Yaq, IV, 767, 781; Fida, 491; LEC, 470; EI^I, art. Nakhshab, Minorsky.
340. This seems to be a repetition of the same events which were reported earlier in the text, pp. 59-61.
341. For continuation see the text, p. 72.
342. A small province which lay between Āzarbāījān, Shirwān and Armenia to the north of the river Araxes. Ist, 190; Haw, 237, 249; Hud, 158; Yaq, I, 183; Must, 89; LEC, 176; EI^I, art.

Arran, Barthold; EI^{II}, art. Arrān, Frye.

343. The text has: **امتنى مركب الحصيان واعلى
منكب العدوان-**


Lit. he rode on the mount of rebellion
and climbed the shoulder of enmity.

344. The text does not provide here any details of
the rebellion of malik Tekish against his brother,
the sultan.

The event to which the text refers here took
place in 473/1080-81. In this battle malik
Tekish was defeated, but the sultan showed a
conciliatory attitude towards him and did not
take any action against him. In another battle
between them in 477/1084-85 at Sarakhs, the
sultan defeated him and put him behind bars.
He (the sultan) assigned Tekish's territories
to his son Ahmad. Tekish met his death at the
hand of his nephew Berk-Yaruq in 487/1094.

For further details see IA, X, 76, 88-9, 162;
See also Iranian World, 81, 90-1.

345. IA, as the editor notes, confirms this date in
one place (X, 91), but contradicts it in another
(XI, 146), where he puts his birth two years
later. The text also contradicts it on p. 124
and like IA, has it in 479/1086. Cf. Bun, 255,
who has 471/1078, which seems unlikely. IK, I,
600-2, as the editor notes, has 479/1086.

346. For this town see also Ist, 73; Haw, 148-49; Yaq, III, 158; Fida, 283; LEC, 98; EI^I, art. Sindjār, Lassner.
347. Roughly the northern part of Mesopotamia comprising the lands between the two largest rivers of the region, i.e. Tigris and Euphrates. See Ist, 71-2; Haw, 137-38; Yaq, II, 72; Fida, 283-84; Must, 102; LEC, 24-5, 86; EI^{II}, art. al-Djazīra, Canard.
348. The text has: 
349. The reference here is to the Qarakhānid Ahmad Khān I b. Khidr Khān (473-82/1081-9), the nephew of sultan Malik-Shāh's wife Terken Khatun. Dynasties, 111. For a continuation of these events see the text, 72-3.
350. A town in Chinese Turkestan to the south of Uzkand (Farghāna) on the way from Samarqand towards the east. Hud, 79; Yaq, IV, 227; Fida, 505; EI^{II}, art. Kāshghar, Barthold, Spuler.
351. For a continuation of this see the text, p. 70.
352. The reference here is to Hārūn (or Ḥasan) b. Sulaymān b. Qadīr Khān Yūsuf (467-96/1075-1103). Dynasties, 112. See also the text, p. 78.
353. This was at Uzkand (Farghāna) IA, X, 114.

354. For him see M.G.S. Hodgson, "The Ismā'īlī State" in Cambridge History of Iran, ed. J. Boyle, (Cambridge, 1968), V, 422-82; idem, The Order of Assassins, (New York, 1980), 37-61; idem, EI^{II}, art. Ḥasan-i Šabbāḥ.
355. The most famous citadel of the Bāṭinīs to the north-west of Qazwīn in the inaccessible Alburz mountains. IA, X, 215; Must, 61; LEC, 220-21; EI^{II}, art. Alamūt, Lockhart.
356. Most probably at a place called Šiḥna (or Saḥna and Siḥna) which lay between Nihāwand and Qirmīsīn (Kirmānshāh). Nish, 33; Raw, 135; IA, X, 137; Ibn Isfandiyār, Tārīkh Ṭabaristān, tr. E.G. Browne, (Leiden, 1905), 240; al-Juwaynī, op. cit., III, 204 and the note, pp. 405-7; LEC, 188-89.
357. For bibliography on Baṭīnīs see n. 354 above. See also EI^{II}, art. Baṭīniyya, Hodgson, art. Ismā'īliyya, Madelung.
358. He is Tāj al-Mulk Abu'l-Ghanā'im Marzubān b. Khusraw Fīrūz Shīrāzī, the rival to wazīr Nizām al-Mulk and the founder of the Tājiyya college at Baghdad.

Born in 438/1046 into a family which had long experience of service as wazīrs in Fārs, he entered the court of sultan Malik-Shāh and

soon was put in charge of the dīwān al-ṭughrā'
wa'l-inshā' and then became wazīr to the
sultan's wife Terken Khatun.

After the death of Nizām al-Mulk, he was
appointed as wazīr to sultan Malik-Shāh, but
owing to the latter's death he did not take up
the office.

He was killed in 486/1093.

Bun, 61; Munt, IX, 46, 62-3, 74; Raw, 133-35;
IA, X, 120, 142, 145-47; 'Abbās, 93-6.

359. A region in the Caspian province of Gīlān.
Haw, 267; Hud, 143; Fida, 426-27; LEC, 172-73;
EI^{II}, art. Daylam, Minorsky.
360. The term is generally used for an area assigned
by the sultan to military leaders. By virtue
of this assignment they were entitled to exploit
the revenues of the land for themselves in lieu
of regular salary. The sources also use the
term for the appanage being granted to the
Saljūq maliks. For further details on this see
C. Cahen, "L'évolution de l'iqta' du IX^e au XIII^e
siècle", in Annales: Economies, sociétés,
civilisations, VIII, (1953), 25-52; idem,
"The Turkish Invasion: The Selchūkids" in
A History of the Crusades, ed. M. Setton, I,
The First Hundred Years, ed. W. Baldwin, (Phil-
adelphia, 1958), 156; idem, EI^{II}, art. Iḳṭā';

A.K.S. Lambton, Landlord and Peasant in Persia, (London, 1953), 53-76; eadem, "Reflections on the Iqtā'" in Arabic and Islamic Studies in Honour of Hamilton A.R. Gibb, ed. G. Makdisi, (Leiden, 1965), 358-76, reproduced in Lambton, Theory and Practice in Medieval Persian Government, (London, 1980), X; eadem, "The Internal Structure of the Saljūq Empire", in op. cit., 231-39; Iranian World, 81-4; Luther, 8-10; Ḥabīb al-Ḥaq Nadvī, "Al-Iqtā': A Historical Survey of Land Tenure and Land Revenue Administration in Some Muslim Countries, with Special Reference to Persia," in Contemporary Aspects of Economic Thinking in Islam, (Indiana, 1980), 83-107; Lambton also has a lengthy discussion on the complex question of iqtā' in her Contribution to the Study of Seljūq Institution, (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, London, 1939), 209-74.

361. For Nizāmiyya colleges see Makdisi, "Muslim Institutions of Learning in eleventh-century Baghdad", BSOAS XXIV (1961), 31-56.
362. He is Abū Sa'd al-ṣūfī al-Nīshāpūrī, the Shaykh al-Shuyūkh and a close associate of sultan Malik-Shāh. He died in 479/1086. IA, X, 105.
363. He is Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. 'Alī b. Yūsuf al-Shīrāzī al-Fīrūzābādī, a celebrated Shāfi'ī scholar of his age.

He was born in 393/1003 in Fīrūzābād (Fārs).

In 475/1083, the caliph al-Muqtadī deputed him to Nīshāpūr with the political mission of complaining to sultan Malik-Shāh about the behaviour of 'amīd Abu'l-Fath at Baghdad. The mission is said to have been remarkably fruitful and the imām was warmly received en route and in Nīshāpūr. Al-Sam'ānī, Kitāb al-ansāb, fol. 435b; Bun, 33, 74-5; Munt, IX, 7-8; IA, X, 38, 81-2, 85; al-Subkī, op. cit., III, 88-111; IK, I, 9-11; EI^I, art. al-Shīrāzī, Heffening.

364. He is 'Abd al-Sayyid b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wāhid b. Aḥmad b. Ja'far Abū Naṣr b. al-Ṣabbāgh, a Shāfi'ī theologian and an author of repute.

He was born in Baghdad in 400/1009 and died there in 477/1084. See Munt, IX, 12-3; IK, II, 164-65; al-Subkī, op. cit., 230-37.

365. The dīwān which was concerned with the drafting of official correspondence; hence it was sometimes also called dīwān rasā'il. This dīwān was headed by an important official called munshī and seems to have been a subordinate branch of dīwān al-ṭughrā'. Bun, 100; Turkestan, 230; Lambton, "Internal Structure of the Saljūq Empire", in op. cit., 257; Klausner, op. cit., 17-8; Luther, 13; EI^{II}, art. Dīwān, Lambton; EI^{II}, art. Inshā', Roemer.

366. Cf. Bun, 59-60, who says that it was the son of Faḍl Allāh, whose name was Abu'l-Maḥāsin Muḥammad who was the sultan's close associate and that the sultan's letter was addressed to him and not to his father. They both fell from favour with the sultan in 476/1083 and Abu'l-Maḥāsin was captured while his father Faḍl Allāh was removed from the office, who later died in obscurity. See also IA, X, 84-5; 'Abbās, 57-8, 64-5.
367. For this personage see the text, p. 56, n. 313.
368. This dīwān, headed by a high-ranking official called mushrif was concerned with the auditing of the revenues, taxes and other sources of income. It was the duty of the mushrifs, whether provincial or central, to keep an eye on all those matters where money was involved. See Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Khāliq al-Mayhanī, Dastūr Dabīrī, ed. A. Erzi, (Ankara, 1962), 111-12; Lambton, "Internal Structure of the Saljuq Empire" in op. cit., 258-59; Klausner, op. cit., 18; Luther, 13; S.C. Fairbanks, The Tārīkh al-Vuzarā': A History of the Saljūq Bureaucracy, 122-25; EI^{II}, art. Dīwān, Lambton.
369. A great poet and a kātib of repute.
- He was born in Iṣfahān in 519/1125, but after attaining maturity, he moved to Baghdad, studied at the Nizāmiyya college and then joined the service of the wazīr Yaḥyā b. Hubayra there.

After the death of the wazīr in 560/1165, al-Iṣfahānī went to the court of Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Zangī (541-69/1146-74) in Damascus and then to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (564-89/1169-93).

During his service in several courts he wrote a number of works including al-Barq al-shāmī and Nuṣrat al-fatra wa 'uṣrat al-fiṭra. The latter work was an Arabic translation of the work of wazīr Anūshīrwān b. Khalid, Futūr zamān al-ṣudūr wa ṣudūr zamān al-futūr which dealt with the wazīrs of the Saljūqs. Nuṣrat al-fatra was then abridged by Fath b. 'Alī al-Bundārī under the title Zubdat al-nuṣra wa nukhbat al-'uṣra.

Al-Iṣfahānī died in 597/1201 at Damascus. Bun, 2-4, 54; IK, III, 300-5; Turkestan, 27-8; Historiography, 67-71; EI^{II}, art. 'Imād al-Dīn, Massé. See also the note on Anūshīrwān b. Khālīd (text, p. 103).

370. See Bun, 32, as the editor also notes.
371. See Bun, 63, as the editor also notes.
372. For this anecdote see also Nish, 31; Raw, 128 who adds that the boatmen complained to the sultan that they would become old before they could cash the money at Antioch. On hearing this, Nizām al-Mulk appeased them by telling

them that there was no need to go to Antioch and that the drafts (barāt) would be cashed on the spot. See also IA, X, 113; A. Ḥasan, "Münejjim Bāshī's Account of Sultan Malik Shāh's Reign", Islamic Studies, III (1964), 437-38, 455-56.

373. For the biography of Niẓām al-Mulk see also Nish, 32-4; Bun, 62-3; Raw, 133-35; IA, X, 137-42; IK, I, 413-15; al-Subkī, op. cit., III, 135-45. For further details about the assassination of Niẓām al-Mulk see M.T. Houtsma, "The Death of Niẓām al-Mulk and its Consequences", Journal of Indian History, II, 3 (1924), 147-60.

374. The reference here is to Abu'l-Hayjā' Muqātil b. 'Aṭīya b. Muqātil al-Bakrī, a great poet and a man of letters. He was born in the Ḥijāz, but he spent most of his life in Baghdad and then in Khurāsān, where he established a relationship with wazīr Niẓām al-Mulk by marrying into his family.

He died in or about 505/1112 in hospital at Marw. IK, III, 412-14.

375. Cf. Houtsma, op. cit., 157-59, who holds that the sultan was poisoned and murdered at the instigation of the caliph al-Muqtadī. For a continuation see the text, 73-4.

376. A very important amīr and shahna of Baghdad (451/1059) on behalf of sultan Toghrīl and later an iqṭā'-holder in Khūzistān.

Sultan Malik-Shāh had sent him on campaigns to Anatolia in 471/1078 (see the text) and then to Aleppo in 479/1086. He was killed by a Bāṭinī in 490/1096.

His son also called Bursuq and others remained very active in the political struggles between sultans and maliks in the period after the death of sultan Malik-Shāh. Bun, 70, 137, 156, 175; IA, X, 6, 97, 159, 185, 196, 234, 243, 321, 342, 356-58; EI^{II}, art. Bursuq, Cahen.

377. See, as the editor also suggests, Bun, 70.

378. A town of Qarāmān in Asia Minor situated at some distance east of the southern end of the Great Salt Lake. Fida, 382; Must, 95; LEC, 149.

379. Cf. IA, X, 89-91 (under the year 477/1084). However, he does not make any mention of sultan Malik-Shāh in these campaigns. See also Ḥasan, op. cit., 443, 463.

380. He is Atsīz b. Uwaq, a Turcoman amīr of sultan Malik-Shāh who had first taken away Palestine and Jerusalem from the Fāṭimids in 463/1070-71 and then Damascus in 468/1076. The event in

question took place in 479/1079. IA, X, 46, 68-9, 70, 72; EI^{II}, art. Atsiz b. Uvak, Cahen.

381. He is Abū Sa'īd Aq-Sonqur b. 'Abd Allāh, the father of atabeg Imād al-Dīn Zangī, the founder of the Zangid dynasty of al-Jazīra and Syria (521/1127-619/1222).

Aq-Sonqur was an important mamlūk commander and influential amīr during sultan Malik-Shāh's reign. He met his death at the hand of Tutush in 487/1094. Bun, 84; Munt, IX, 77; IA, X, 149-51, 157; IK, I, 225-26; EI^{II}, art. Ak-Sunkur, Gibb.

382. See also Bun, 70-1; IA, X, 137 (under the year 485/1092).

383. Sing. khargāh. It is a reference to the felt-tents of the Turks. Cf. Bun, 70, who has "al-Turk" instead. See also Yaq, III, 446; Hud, (Commentary), 280-81.

384. A place to the north-east of Isfījāb (Sayram) in Transoxiana. Yaq, III, 524; Must, 261; LEC, 486-87.

385. Cf. above, p. 65 and n. 349.

386. The text seems to be suggesting that the "King of the Turks" i.e. Ya'qūb was brought to Isfahān and then returned to his domains,

but other sources have Aḥmad Khān instead of him. Bun, 55, says that both of them were captured and the former was brought to Iṣfahān and the latter to Iraq. Cf. Nish, 31; Raw, 128-30, who seem to have confused the event and place it once in 471/1078 and then in 481/1088. See also IA, X, 112-14, 165 (under 482/1089); al-Narshakhī, op. cit., 29; Turkestan, 316-18; Iranian World, 92-3; Howorth, op. cit., 490-91.

387. The reference here is to Farīburz b. Sallār. Bun, 140. The exact year of the event in question is difficult to ascertain. Minorsky with a reference from Yinanç seems to suggest 471-72/1078-79 (see A History of Sharvan and Darband, 67-8), while Bosworth suggests 478/1086 (i.e. after the death of Saw-Tegin) see Iranian World, 95. Cf. n. 200 above.

388. The region to the east of the river Kurr as far as the borders of Darband along the Caspian Sea. Its capital was al-Shamākhiya (Shamākhī, Shimākhā).

Present-day Shirwān is a part of Soviet Āzarbā'ijān and its capital is Bākū, formerly called Bākūya. Yaq, III, 282; Must, 92; Hud (Commentary), 403-4; LEC, 179-81; EI^I, Shirwān, Barthold.

389. For these see also Nish, 34; Bun, 68-70;
IA, X, 142-45.

CHAPTER III

THE DECLINE OF THE SALJŪQ DYNASTY
AND THE TRANSFER OF THE SEAT OF THE
SUPREME SULTANATE FROM IRAQ TO KHURĀSĀN

THE REIGN OF MAḤMŪD B. SULTAN

MALIK-SHĀH B. ALP-ARSLAN

When Malik-Shāh died at Baghdad, none of his sons were with him except Maḥmūd. (Although) he (Maḥmud) was a little child,¹ the army pledged allegiance to him for certain reasons. One of them was that his mother Terken Khatun² already had an immense influence over the affairs (of the kingdom) during the days of sultan Malik-Shāh. She used to treat the soldiers kindly, so they gave precedence to her son. The second reason was that she belonged to the family of the Turkish kings. It has been said that she was from the descendants of Afrāsiyāb.³ The third reason was that the money was in her hands, so she distributed it amongst them (the soldiers). (In response) they pledged their allegiance to Maḥmūd and took him with them and returned to Iṣfahān.

T.p.75

When the ghulāms of wazīr Niẓām al-Mulk and the soldiers who had been left behind at Hamadān heard that Terken Khatun was in league with the soldiers, they came out with malik Rukn al-Dīn Abu'l-Muzaffar Berk-Yaruq b. Malik-Shāh b. Alp-Arslan (and set out) towards Rayy. The soldiers gathered around him. (On the other hand) Terken Khatun (f.43a) entered Iṣfahān with her son.

During these wars and disputes the imām al-Muqtadī died suddenly on Saturday, 15th of Muḥarram in the year 487. The imām al-Mustazḥir bi Allāh was given a pledge of allegiance as the (new) commander of the Faithful three days after the former's death.⁴ A deed of investiture (kitāb al-taqlīd) was obtained from him for Berk-Yaruq. So Berk-Yaruq came and besieged Iṣfahān and it was only a year before Maḥmūd died and his mother Terken Khatun followed him (which) eased the tension.⁵

THE REIGN OF SULTAN RUKN AL-DĪN

ABU'L-MUẒAFFAR BERK-YARUQ B.

MALIK-SHĀH B. ALP-ARSLAN

At the time when the sultanate fell under the sway of sultan Rukn al-Dīn Abu'l-Muẓaffar Berk-Yaruq b. Malik-Shāh, his atabeg⁶ was amīr isfahsalār⁷ Gumush-Tegin, the jāndār (chief executioner) who was a wine-bibber.

When sultan Berk-Yaruq came to power, his uncle Tāj al-Dawla Tutush b. Alp-Arslan marched from Syria. Bozan, the lord of al-Ruhā (Edessa) and Qasīm al-Dawla Aq-Sonqur, the lord of Aleppo, who were the mamlūks of his father, wrote to sultan Berk-Yaruq requesting him for help against his uncle Tāj al-Dawla Tutush. But he did not pay any attention to their request because of his heavy drinking while

his atabeg remained distracted from the sultan because of his (involvement) with his (Berk-Yaruq's) mother Zubayda Khatun. He had (already) been blamed about her. Thus they (Sonqur and Bozan) could not get any help (from the sultan).

(On the other hand) Tāj al-Dawla Tutush marched towards them. They thought that they could fight him (on their own). So they both fought against him. He (also) fought against them and took them captive. This took place in the month of Jumādā II in the year 487 (f.43b). He defeated Qasīm al-Dawla Aq-Sonqur, the lord of Aleppo and amīr Bozan, the lord of al-Ruhā (Edessa) and captured their towns.

Ṣadr 'Imād al-Dīn has written two verses on the assassination of amīr Qasīm al-Dawla Aq-Sonqur and Bozan, (which are as follow):

"We were drowned in drinking and
intoxication, so that we did not
think of Sonqur and Bozan.
We did not win a single pawn in the
chess-game
But surely the two castles were lost."

Then he (Tutush) hastened his troops and intended to seize the sultanate. This was during the period when Mu'ayyid al-Mulk 'Ubayd Allāh b. Nizām al-Mulk acted as wazīr for sultan Berk-Yaruq b. Malik-Shāh. Mu'ayyid al-Mulk went along with his troops to fight against Tāj al-Dawla Tutush b. Alp-Arslan.

Tāj al-Dawla Tutush met him (in the battlefield). Sultan Berk-Yaruq (also) joined in together with the army of Mu'ayyid al-Mulk to fight his uncle. They met each other near Rayy and a fierce battle took place. Tāj al-Dawla Tutush b. Alp-Arslan was killed in the month of Ṣafar in the year 488 and his associates fled. Thus the sultanate came to sultan Berk-Yaruq.⁹ This battle occurred at a village called Dāshīlū¹⁰ which lay at a distance of 12 farsakhs from Rayy.

T.p.77 Then Mu'ayyid al-Mulk was removed (from his office) unexpectedly and he fled to sultan Muḥammad Tapar (who was) the brother of sultan (Berk-Yaruq). He (Mu'ayyid) incited him (to rebel against Berk-Yaruq) and assured him that the sultanate was in need of him. So he (Muḥammad) set out from Arrān (having with him) a small number of troops. (On the other hand) when sultan Berk-Yaruq learnt (f.44a) about his rebellion, he left Rayy.¹¹ Sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad Tapar entered the city and sat on the throne. He seized Zubayda Khatun, the mother of Berk-Yaruq and put her to death.¹² The battle between the two brothers in which Mu'ayyid al-Mulk was killed took place at Hamadān.¹³

Sultan Muḥammad had rebelled at the instigation of amīr iṣfahsālār Öner because he ardently desired to run the affairs of the kingdom. Sultan Muḥammad was put to flight in this battle. When the (news)

of his defeat reached sultan Mu'izz al-Dīn Sanjar, who was his brother and the ruler of Khurāsān on behalf of his brother Berk-Yaruq, he fought battles there, the detailed narrative of which, if Allāh wills, will come in the account of sultan Sanjar.¹⁴

He (sultan Sanjar) disliked the rule of his brother Berk-Yaruq, so he marched (to join) his (other) brother sultan Muḥammad Tapar and his love for him made him leave Khurāsān. He came to him and they both set out towards Baghdad and had a meeting with al-Mustazhir bi Allāh, the commander of the Faithful. So he (al-Mustazhir) gave them an audience, bestowed necklaces and bracelets upon them and tied two flags for them with his own hands. Then they both went on their own way. Sultan Sanjar returned to Khurāsān while sultan Muḥammad prepared to fight (once again) against his brother sultan Berk-Yaruq and they both lined up (against each other) at the town of Rūdhrawar.¹⁵ But then they withdrew without a battle and made a peace agreement which was established between them.¹⁶ But later the peace treaty was annulled and a battle took place between them at Rayy. In this battle sultan Muḥammad penetrated into Isfahān but Berk-Yaruq besieged him there (f.44b) and Muḥammad faced many hardships.

Then malik Mawdūd b. Ismā'īl¹⁷ who belonged to the family of Saljūq and was the lord of Arrāniyya wrote to him (Muḥammad) and gave him the assurance

that if he came to him, he would help him.

T.p.78 Sultan Muḥammad (managed to) escape from the siege and went to Arrāniyya. But malik Mawdūd died before his (Muḥammad's) arrival there. So Muḥammad entered there (the city) and became powerful with (the support of) the army of Arrāniyya.

After this, Rūkn al-Dīn Berk-Yaruq set out to fight against him. Sultan Muḥammad also marched towards him. They met each other at the gate of Duwīn¹⁸ in Jumādā II in the year 496 and sultan Muḥammad fled towards the town of Anī. Then they both came to an agreement and (once again) made peace on the basis that all that was beyond the Nahr al-Abyaḍ known as Isfīd Rūdh¹⁹ together with Mosul and Syria would go to sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad while Khurāsān and Transoxiana would go to sultan Mu'izz al-Dīn Sanjar and that sultan Rukn al-Dīn Berk-Yaruq would rule over both the Iraqs and that Muḥammad would be sultan after him.²⁰ The peace treaty remained for (only) a short period.²¹

Sultan Rukn al-Dīn Abu'l-Muẓaffar b. Malik-Shāh b. Alp-Arslan passed away at Burūjird²² in the month of Rabī' II in the year 498. He was born in the year 474. His reign lasted for 12 years and four months. He lived for 25 years.²³

His personal biography: He was addicted to wine and was an excessive drinker.

He attacked Transoxiana and penetrated (f.45a)

as far as Samarqand. He appointed Khān-Tegin b. Sulaymān (? Khān Sulaymān-Tegin)²⁴ as lord over that area, but then removed him and assigned the post to Maḥmūd-Tegin²⁵ and (after his removal) to Hārūn-Tegin.²⁶

Ibrāhīm, the lord of Ghazna paid allegiance to him.

His son's (name) was Malik-Shāh.

Many wazīrs acted for him. The last one of them was Khaṭīr al-Mulk Abū Maṣṣūr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Maybudhī.²⁷ He was absolutely ignorant and so fat as (the following) saying of the poet was meant for him:

T.p.79

"A wazīr who has dived into fat and meat and has no relation to wisdom and understanding.

When he wears white clothes, then he (looks like) a bale of cotton and if he wears black clothes, then he is (like) a mound of coal."

THE REIGN OF SULTAN GHIYĀTH
AL-DĪN ABŪ SHUJĀ' MUḤAMMAD
TAPAR, THE PARTNER (QASĪM)
OF THE COMMANDER OF THE FAITHFUL

The sultanate fell under his sway when his brother sultan Rukn al-Dīn Berk-Yaruq b. Malik-Shāh died in the year 498.

Ayaz who was the atabeg of Malik-Shāh b. sultan Rukn al-Dīn Berk-Yaruq took him (Malik-Shāh) after the death of his father and fled with him from one place to another till he paid allegiance to sultan Muḥammad. Then he (Ayaz) was put to death and Malik-Shāh surrendered to his uncle sultan Muḥammad.²⁸

Sultan Muḥammad captured the citadel of Shāhdiz²⁹ (which was) situated near Iṣfahān, in the year 500. This citadel was a wound in the throat of its (Iṣfahān's) inhabitants and a thorn in their eyes. All the Bāṭinīs in the citadel were slain and Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Malik who was known as 'Aṭṭāsh al-Bāṭinī³⁰ was killed in captivity. He possessed great strength and when he heard about any amīr who was powerful or any scholar who had attained respect, he would assign someone to assassinate him.

Sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad Tapar was full of hatred against the Bāṭinīs and was their deadly enemy.

He also captured (f.45b) the citadel of Khān-lanjān³¹ which was also situated in the vicinity of Iṣfahān.³² He assigned amīr isfahsalār Shīrgīr³³ to besiege Alamūt and he (Shīrgīr) was on the verge of conquering it.

T.p.80

In the year 501, sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad killed amīr Sayf al-Dawla Ṣadaqa b. Dubays b. 'Alī b. Mazyad³⁴ who had the laqab of Malik al-'Arab, at (a place called) Nu'māniyya,³⁵ in a battle which

took place between them. It so happened that (once) the sultan came to Baghdad in the last days of the month of Rabī' II. It was brought to his notice that amīr Sayf al-Dawla Ṣadaqa had rebelled. The news (that the sultan knew about the rebellion?) reached Sayf al-Dawla. So he became cautious and gathered 20,000 horsemen of the scattered bands of the Kurds, the Turks, the Daylamīs and the Arabs while the army of the sultan had returned to Hamadān and he was left with only 1,000 of his closest mamluks. (On this occasion) amīr Sayf al-Dawla was at al-Ḥilla.³⁶ It was winter and the mud made a barrier between them. When he (the sultan) realised how small the number of those with him was, he decided to send (someone) to him (Ṣadaqa) and persuade him to make allegiance to him. But the isfahsalār of his (the sultan's) army who was his mamlūk, amīr Mawdūd³⁷ and all other mamlūks declined to do this and told (the sultan) that they were not ready to hear that and that there was no other alternative except to fight against him (Ṣadaqa). When the sultan heard this, he left for al-Ḥilla. (On the other hand) Sayf al-Dawla (also) marched towards him to take advantage of the opportunity (of fighting) against the sultan which would increase his prestige. War broke out between them at a very muddy place at Nu'māniyya and the horsemen could not (f.46a) move in it. The Turks dismounted in

subservience to the sultan and advanced towards the army of Sayf al-Dawla Ṣadaqa (having with them their) arrows. They wiped out (his) horsemen and foot-soldiers and caused a great deal of slaughter and wounding in his army. (When) Sayf al-Dawla saw this he decided to flee. (When his decision) became evident to the Turks, they engaged in a fierce fight. Sayf al-Dawla Ṣadaqa was routed and (then) shot to death by an arrow.³⁸ Most of the soldiers who had remained with him were also killed. Sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad returned triumphant.

T.p.81

(After this defeat) the Mazyadids were left with no malik of the calibre of Sayf al-Dawla Ṣadaqa as regards strength and noble nature. But he was an extremist in the Shī'ite faith.

Ibn Khāzin wrote a qaṣīda about him in which he mourns him:

"Life in the world is like the dream
of a dreamer and man is like a phantom
in the imagination.
How many people full of hope have
ridden the horses of desires, but
have stumbled on the ropes of death!
He was an ocean of generosity and a
full moon in the darkness. (He was)
a lion of war and a mountain of glory.
How many times did he pull it (? sword)
out (like) a bright sun? But then he
put the brightness back into the
scabbard by twilight when it had become

blunted with the blood of brave men.³⁹
 Money laughed⁴⁰ when he was buried but
 the eyes of hopes shed tears upon his
 death.

(There were) assemblies which were
 always attended by him, by that crowned
 one (who was) a man of bright deeds.
 So I wept for the scabbard which suffered
 from his sword. And the bushes have
 become desolate since the father of the
 young lions (has passed away)."

In the year 501, Diyā' al-Mulk Aḥmad, son of the
wazīr Nizām al-Mulk who was the wazīr of the sultan,
 marched towards Alamūt having with him amīr Chawlī
 (Saqao).⁴¹ They inflicted a defeat on the Bāṭinīs / ✓
and killed a great number of them.⁴²

In the year 503 the Georgians overran (f.46b)
 the lands of Ganja and the sultan dispatched an army
 against them which checked their offence.

In the year 504, the commander of the Faithful,
 the imām al-Mustazḥir bi Allāh married the sister of
 sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad (whose name was)
 Sayyida Khatun, the daughter of Sulṭān al-A'zam
 Jalāl al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn Malik-Shāh b. Alp-Arslan.
 She arrived in Baghdad in (the month of) Sha'bān of
 the same year with bridal-money (ṣadāq) of 100,000
dīnārs. Clothes and riches and jewels were
 presented to her, the like of which had never been

T.p.82 seen before and mamlūks and an entourage, slave girls,
 servants and riding-animals (were given to her) the

like of which had never been heard of. He consummated the marriage with her in the same month.⁴³

Amīr Shīrgīr would have captured Alamūt had it not been for the death of the sultan and (as a result) the coming to power of his son Maḥmūd. He (Maḥmūd) summoned amīr Shīrgīr and the amīr left Alamūt. (After his arriving back) Maḥmūd imprisoned him and put him to death. His son 'Umar b. Shīrgīr was (also) put to death.⁴⁴ *good*

He (Shīrgīr), may the mercy of Allāh, the Almighty, be upon him, was one of the most pious amīrs and the most God-fearing amongst them. X

Sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad Tapar b. Sulṭān al-A'zam Jalāl al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn Malik-Shāh b. Alp-Arslan died on the 11th of Dhu'l-Hijja in the year 511.⁴⁵ He had become sultan after the death of his brother sultan Rukn al-Dīn Abu'l-Muẓaffar Berk-Yaruq b. Malik-Shāh b. Alp-Arslan in Rabī' II in the year 498. Thus his sultanate lasted for 13 years and a few months.

His sons were Maḥmūd, (f.47a) Toghrīl, Mas'ūd, Sulaymān-Shāh and Saljūq-Shāh. Every one of them (had the chance) to come to power except Saljūq-Shāh.

He (sultan Muḥammad) was a man of sound conduct, suited (for running affairs) of state. He always practised justice and (advanced) the prosperity (of his lands). He took care of the treasury and gave alms. He (always) sought guidance from dīn and

reason. He was of sound faith and was full of
X | hatred for the Bāṭinīs and Rāfidites (Rawāfiḍ).

He abolished (unjust) taxes (mukūs).

He died in the year 511.

His wazīrs: (As) we have mentioned in (the account) of the life of his brother sultan Rukn al-Dīn Berk-Yaruq, sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad Tapar made Mu'ayyid al-Mulk b. Niẓām al-Mulk his wazīr during the lifetime of his brother sultan Berk-Yaruq and (he worked for him as wazīr) until sultan Berk-Yaruq killed him with his own hands in the battle in which sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad Tapar was defeated on the outskirts of Hamadān. When the sultan lost his wazīr, he missed him because of his (wazīr's) irreproachable life. So he made his son amīr Naṣr b. . Mu'ayyid al-Mulk his wazīr. He had acquired a sound knowledge in
T.p.83 the sciences of (his) forefathers. His reign was not popular (among the people) till sultan Berk-Yaruq died and sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad Tapar became sultan with the help of his troops. Then he made Sa'd al-Mulk Abu'l-Maḥāsin Sa'd b. Muḥammad al-Ābī⁴⁶ his wazīr. He was religious, generous and good at administration. He remained with him until the qāḍī of Iṣfahān, 'Ubayd Allāh al-Khaṭībī⁴⁷ disparaged him (the wazīr) to him (the sultān) and informed him that he (the wazīr) was a Bāṭinī and (thus) he uncovered his (wazīr's) real nature. So

the sultan put him to death and crucified him. After him he made wazīr Diyā' al-Mulk (f.47b) Aḥmad b. Nizām al-Mulk his wazīr. He (Diyā' al-Mulk) and Khaṭīr al-Mulk Abū Maṣṣūr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Maybudhī, the one who had acted as wazīr for sultan Berk-Yaruq,⁴⁸ reached (the sultan) on the day of the misfortune of Sa'd al-Mulk. So the post of the wazīr was given to the son of Nizām al-Mulk while (the office of) istīfā' (was given) to Khaṭīr. Diyā' al-Mulk was born at Balkh and had grown up in Iṣfahān. The sultan then dismissed him after some time and handed him over to the chief ḥājib (amīr al-ḥājib)⁴⁹ 'Umar b. Qara-Tegin. Then many other wazīrs acted (for the sultan) after him.

After them the sultan sent for someone from Baghdad who might act for him as his wazīr. So wazīr Rabīb al-Dawla Abu Maṣṣūr⁵⁰ b. wazīr Abū Shujā' was brought to him and the sultan made him his wazīr two months before he died.

Sadīd al-Dawla b. al-Anbārī who was kātib al-inshā' for the caliph satirises Rabīb al-Dawla (as follows):

"In the age during which you were adorned with two wizārats, Allāh caused every eye to shed tears. But (surely) not more than my eye(s).

When sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad Tapar died, (the seat of) the sultanate was transferred from the

T.p.84 malik of Iraq to the malik of Khurāsān. It was so because after (the death of) sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad Tapar there was no one left in the family who was older or who possessed more extensive territory than his brother Mu'izz al-Dīn Abu'l-Ḥārith Sanjar b. Malik-Shāh b. Alp-Arslan. So the sultanate became established for him after the wars which he fought against sultan Maḥmūd b. sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad Tapar.⁵¹

Maḥmūd came to power in Iraq after (the death of) his father and settled matters with his uncle⁵² sultan Mu'izz al-Dīn Sanjar. The situation remained constant.

THE ACCOUNT OF THE ARRIVAL OF SULTĀN AL-A'ZAM
MU'IZZ AL-DUNYĀ WA'L-DĪN MALIK AL-ISLĀM
WA'L-MUSLIMĪN (f.48a) 'IMĀD ĀL-I SALJŪQ
ABU'L-ḤĀRITH SANJAR B. MALIK-SHĀH, THE RIGHT
HAND (YAMĪN) OF THE COMMANDER OF THE FAITHFUL
FROM KHURĀSĀN TO IRAQ AND HIS VICTORY
(OVER HIS RIVALS) AND HIS FORGIVING THEM

At the time when sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad Tapar died, Sultān al-A'zam Mu'izz al-Dīn Sanjar had established his position in Khurāsān. His authority had become strong and his kingdom powerful. The reason (for this) was that in his domain of Khurāsān the roads were safe during the reign of his father

sultan Malik-Shāh.

When sultan Malik-Shāh died, dispute arose about the order of precedence between his eldest son sultan Berk-Yaruq and Maḥmūd. So a battle took place between them in Iraq which we have mentioned before. Malik Arslan-Arghun b. Alp-Arslan, who has already been mentioned in the account of his (Alp-Arslan) sons and who was an iqṭā'-holder on the outskirts of Hamadān and Sāwa, on behalf of his brother sultan Malik-Shāh, valued at the sum of T.p.85 7,000 dīnārs,⁵³ seized the opportunity, gathered together an army and took advantage of his nephew being engaged and (the fact) that the army was divided between them. He marched in the direction of Nīshāpūr and demanded that it should be handed over to him. But its populace refused (to surrender to him). So he went towards Marw and had a fight there. The ⁵⁴shahna of Marw, amīr Qodun entered into an agreement with him and handed over Marw to him. His authority extended to the extent that he took over Balkh and Tirmidh. Khurāsān became open to him when the sultanate was settled in favour of sultan Berk-Yaruq.

After this, sultan Arslan-Arghun wrote (a letter) to sultan Berk-Yaruq (saying): "Now I have become the owner of the dominion of my grandfather malik Dā'ūd and I am content with it. I would not go beyond its boundaries, I would not have intentions

on any other country and would enter (anywhere) only when you command me to do so." So sultan (f.48b) Berk-Yaruq gave him the impression that he had accepted his assurance. But then he (Berk-Yaruq) showed him open hostility and sent another uncle of his, malik Böri-Bars, making him the malik of Khurāsān. He (also) added to him amīr Mas'ūd b. Mājir and the amīr of Khurāsān Altun-Tash. Böri-Bars arrived in the vicinity of Khurāsān and the army there gathered round him. It happened by chance that Altun-Tash became afraid of Mas'ūd. So he (Altun-Tash) killed him treacherously. He also killed his son. Thus he frustrated the strategem of Böri-Bars. Böri-Bars made 'Imād al-Mulk Abu'l-Qāsim b. Nizām al-Mulk his wazīr.

After this the brother of Böri-Bars, malik Arslan-Arghun arrayed (his soldiers) against him. But Böri-Bars inflicted a defeat on him and Arslan-Arghun returned defeated to Balkh. Malik Böri-Bars captured the city of Marw and most of Khurāsān.

Then malik Arslan-Arghun amassed bands of the Turcomans and various groups of auxiliary troops (ajnād) gathered round him. He encamped at Marw, besieged it and captured it by force. He destroyed its wall and killed most of its inhabitants.

T.p.86

Böri-Bars left Herat intending to meet Arslan-Arghun. They met each other at Marw. Böri-Bars was defeated (in this battle) and taken captive. Then

he was taken to his brother malik Arslan-Arghun, who imprisoned him at Tirmidh and then strangled him. He also took captive his wazīr 'Imād al-Mulk b. Niẓām al-Mulk, mulcted 300,000 dīnārs from him and then put him to death. He oppressed the inhabitants of the towns and destroyed the wall of Marw, the citadel of Sarakhs and the citadel of Nīshāpūr. Thus he destroyed all the strongholds of Khurāsān.⁵⁵

The cause of his death was that (once) on Tuesday, the 17th of the month of Ṣafar in the year 490, he got up (f.49a) to perform his ablutions. He had a castrated but strong and refractory boy with him. Arslan-Arghun stroked his chin,⁵⁶ the boy drew out his knife and slit open his (Arslan-Arghun's) belly. Then he (the boy) came down from the palace which was called the qaṣr sādḳān of Marw. His uneasy demeanour betrayed what he had done and the guards captured him. Then they went up to the palace and found the dead body of malik Arslan-Arghun. None can revoke the Heavenly decisions of Allāh and His decrees.

When the ghulām was captured and asked why he had assassinated the malik, he replied: "I intended to free people from his transgression." His assassination took place in the year 490. He had lived for 26 years.

When sultan Berk-Yaruq became aware of the

capture of Khurāsān by his uncle, he assigned it to his brother sultan Sanjar and equipped an army with him, and sultan Sanjar left for Khurāsān. Then the news of the assassination of his uncle reached sultan Berk-Yaruq. (On the other hand) when sultan Sanjar arrived in Dāmghān,⁵⁷ he learnt that the troops of his uncle had replaced him with his young son. When the troops discovered that sultan Sanjar was advancing (towards them) and sultan Berk-Yaruq was following him, they took away with them the young boy who was only seven and 500 horsemen were accompanying him. They had (already) looted the treasures of his father for his cousin sultan Berk-Yaruq. They asked him (Berk-Yaruq) to grant him (the boy) some iqtā's. So he granted him iqtā's on the outskirts of Hamadān and assigned Khurāsān to his brother (Sanjar).

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During this campaign sultan Berk-Yaruq captured Samarqand and all those events took place which we have mentioned (in the account of) his life.

When sultan Berk-Yaruq heard about Iraq and that Mu'ayyid al-Mulk b. Nizām al-Mulk had gone to incite his brother sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad Tapar (against him); many battles took place in which sultan Bark-Yaruq was defeated (f.49b) and he returned to Isfarā'in⁵⁸ and then to Nīshāpūr with (only) 50 horsemen. (On this occasion) sultan Sanjar was at Balkh along with his soldiers.

A Turk who was called Ḥabashī had brought most

of Khurāsān under his authority and was based at Damghān. (Apart) from most of Khurāsān, Ṭabaristān was (also) under his domination and he held the citadel of Gird-Kūh as well. So sultan Sanjar set out from Balkh with his troops accompanied by two amīrs, Kundigūz and Er-Ghush, intending to give him a battle. He (Ḥabashī) had with him 20,000 horsemen while 5,000 Bāṭinī foot-soldiers had also joined him. These were the followers of Ismā'īl al-Kalkalī who was the lord of Ṭabas.⁵⁹

The hearts of the soldiers of sultan Sanjar were strengthened with the arrival of sultan Berk-Yaruq from Nīshāpūr. So they met Ḥabashī (in the battlefield). (At the beginning of the battle) they were attacked, but then Ḥabashī was put to flight and he fled to (hide) somewhere in a village, where he was caught and taken captive. He was brought to sultan Sanjar who put him to death after he (Ḥabashī) had paid 100,000 dīnārs (as ransom) for himself.⁶⁰

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The authority of sultan Sanjar in Khurāsān remained stable until his brother Berk-Yaruq passed away. (After Berk-Yaruq's death) the sultanate passed to sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad Tapar and (by this) the strength of his (Sanjar's) authority increased until sultan Muḥammad also died.

(After the death of Muḥammad) his son sultan Mughīth al-Dīn Maḥmūd became the sultan of Iraq. He followed the (previous administrative) arrange-

ments of his father in that the overall sovereignty would rest with the malik of Iraq.

The chief administrator (mudabbir) of the affairs of sultan Maḥmūd was the ḥājib 'Alī Bār b. 'Amr and his kātib Abu'l-Qāsim al-Darguzīnī. They persuaded sultan Maḥmūd (to rebel) (f.50a) against his uncle sultan Sanjar and they put pressure on him until he commanded Ismā'īl al-Tughrīlī⁶¹ to write to the khān⁶² of Samarqand and tell his men that he (Maḥmūd) had resolved to wage war against his uncle and to penetrate his lands and that "if he (Sanjar) marches towards us, you (the khān) should advance from behind him and take whatever you wish of his lands." This scheme was worked out in Iraq, but it failed and the arrangements proved unsuccessful. The above-mentioned ḥājib was rendered powerless and the amīrs became disunited.

(When) sultan Sanjar became aware of what had taken place in Iraq regarding the difference in the interests (of the amīrs) and the sedition (fasād) and about what was suggested to his nephew by (his amīrs), he set out from Khurāsān in the direction of the territory of Rayy. (On the other hand) sultan Maḥmūd (also) assembled his army. His isfahsalārs were 'Alī Bār, the ḥājib and atabeg (? amīr) Mengü-Bars.⁶³ So they met each other in the year 512, the army of sultan Maḥmūd was defeated and a great number of them were killed.⁶⁴

When the army fled, sultan Sanjar sent a messenger to his nephew sultan Maḥmūd, mollified him and told him that he had come to put his things in order, to remove his undesirable amīrs, to strengthen his allegiance and then bid farewell to him.

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Then wazīr Niẓām al-Dīn Kamāl al-Mulk al-Sumayramī⁶⁵ came to sultan Maḥmūd, had an audience with him and then said to him: "He (Sanjar) is your uncle and is in place of your father (for you). He is the eldest one in the family. So it is advisable to be in agreement with him. I will go to him (as an envoy) on your behalf and will make peace between you." So he (Maḥmūd) sent him (to Sanjar) and he (the wazīr) went from Iṣfahān in the direction of Rayy to have an audience with sultan Sanjar. (When) sultan Sanjar came to know that the wazīr of his nephew had arrived as an envoy to bring about a reconciliation, he gave him (f.50b) a very hospitable reception which he (the wazīr) did not expect and had a session with him about a reconciliation. The wazīr stayed in the tent of sultan Sanjar. Sultan Sanjar (also) sent an envoy on his behalf to sultan Maḥmūd. Sultan Maḥmūd came forward from Iṣfahān and his wazīr joined him before his (Maḥmūd's) meeting with his uncle sultan Sanjar. He advised him that when he visited his uncle, he should give up the protocol of the sultanate of the red nawba (drum-beating), that he should

dismount at the two black and white nawbas, that he should abandon the five nawbas and should kiss the ground in front of him when he went in to see him. (Moreover) he should keep standing and then go in his entourage from the public audience hall (bārgāh) to the tent. He should not keep himself away from his uncle in a (separate) tent but that he should stay in the vicinity of his tent. So he (Maḥmūd) acted according to the advice of his wazīr. His uncle sultan Sanjar bestowed a robe of honour upon him, honoured him and assigned some lands to him. He put to death Qara-Tegin al-Qaṣṣāb and atabeg (? amīr) Mengü-Bars, but gave a robe of honour to 'Alī Bār on the intercession of sultan Maḥmūd. (The sultan also gave robes of honour) to the wazīr of sultan Maḥmūd, Kamāl al-Sumayramī and to ^{the} kātib of 'Alī Bār, Abu'l-Qāsim al-Darguzīnī and then returned to Khurāsān after setting aside for himself the lands of Māzandarān, Ṭabaristān, Qūmis,⁶⁶ Dāmghān, Rayy and Dunbāwand (Damāwand)⁶⁷ as far as Khurāsān.⁶⁸

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He singled out malik Toghrīl, the brother of sultan Maḥmūd for his favour and granted to him Sāwa, Āwa,⁶⁹ Sāruq,⁷⁰ Sāmān,⁷¹ Qazwīn,⁷² Abhar,⁷³ Zanjān,⁷⁴ Gīlan,⁷⁵ Daylām and Ṭāliqān.⁷⁶ He assigned to his brother malik Saljūq-Shāh the whole of the lands of Fārs, gave them to him and his atabeg Qaracha al-Sāqī and added to it a number of

towns of Isfahān too.

Sultan (f.51a) Sanjar had been successful in all his affairs and triumphant in his battles. But two great misfortunes befell him during his lifetime, which I will mention soon.⁷⁷

He possessed extensive lands which none of his predecessors or successors ever had, except what his father sultan Malik-Shāh had had in his hands.

It happened that when he (Sanjar) established himself in Khurāsān at the time when his brother sultan Muḥammad Tapar held sway over Iraq at the beginning of his career, while sultan Berk-Yaruq was still alive, it came to the mind of Qadīr Khan,⁷⁸ the lord of Transoxiana that if he crossed over to Khurāsān he would (be able) to conquer it because of the young age of sultan Sanjar. His kātib amīr Kündigüz⁷⁹ had been persuading him to do this. So he crossed the river (Oxus) having with him 100,000 horsemen intending to fight sultan Sanjar and his army.

When the two armies approached each other, Qadīr Khān came out of his army with a group of his close associates to go hunting. Some dihqāns came and informed sultan Sanjar (about him). Sultan Sanjar took the opportunity and sent the isfahsalār of his army, Er-Ghush, with an army to go in the direction of where the khān was (engaged in hunting). He fell upon him, took him and his associates

captives, brought them and made them stand before sultan Sanjar. He (Sanjar) began to scold him. The khān apologised (to the sultan), but he did not accept his excuses and beheaded him and his army scattered to the four winds.⁸⁰

(After this success) sultan Sanjar began conquering the lands of Transoxiana.⁸¹ His brother sultan Muḥammad Tapar could not pay him any attention because of his involvement in the affairs of Iraq.

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Then malik Bahrām-Shāh, who was the descendant of sultan Ghāzī Maḥmud b. Sebük-Tegin, the malik of Ghazna, came to sultan Sanjar (f.51b) and sought his help against his brother Ibrāhīm (?), the malik of Ghazna.⁸² He (Sanjar) extended his aid to him (Bahrām), mobilised his army and equipped it (for him). When sultan Muḥammad came to know about this, he did not agree with it. So he sent a message to him (Sanjar) and said to him: "O, my brother: Do not carry out this decision, because the Ghaznawids are a powerful family. So do not attack them." But sultan Sanjar refused and reached Ghazna, having Bahrām-Shāh with him. Ibrāhīm (?) came out of it (the city) with his troops, having with him 50 elephants with men and arrow-throwers on them.

When the two armies met each other, the horses of the army of sultan Sanjar shied away from the elephants and they were on the point of retreat. But amīr Abu'l-Faḍl,⁸³ the lord of Sijistān (Sīstān)

dismounted. He was the most courageous of the creatures of Allāh. He joined in battle until he reached the biggest elephant, went underneath one of its sides and hit it with his scimitar (khanjar) which he had ready (with him). The elephant trumpeted and turned its back. The rest of the elephants followed its trumpet and fled. At this moment the troops of sultan Sanjar carried out the attack and the Ghaznawid army was put to flight. After this sultan Sanjar came and entered Ghazna; he captured it and seized its riches and treasures. Ghazna had never been taken by anyone since its capture by sultan Maḥmūd b. Sebük-Tegin earlier.

He (Sanjar) enthroned Bahrām-Shāh there, gave him advice and stipulated that he would provide 250,000 dīnārs every year to the treasury of sultan Sanjar. The conquest of Ghazna took place in the year 510.

(After taking Ghazna) Sanjar sent a letter to sultan Muḥammad (which contained) the glad tidings. Sultan Muḥammad was suffering from the illness which proved fatal to him. He died one year after this and sultan Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad Tapar, the nephew of sultan Sanjar came to power in Iraq (f.52a) after he (Sanjar) had recognised him.

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After this sultan Sanjar set out towards Samarqand. The lord of Samarqand, Aḥmād Khān, was one of the greatest sultans of the Turks. He

possessed 12,000 mamlūks who were considered the most courageous. He had suppressed the Turks and had penetrated deep into the lands of the kharkāwāt (khargāwāt) to a distance of two months. Sultan Sanjar besieged Samarqand for six months and compelled its lord until he came out to him while suffering from paralysis. He was brought in a sedan which was carried by the mamlūks. He (the khān) was made to sit before him (Sanjar) for a while, (but) he (the khān) was unable to speak, his saliva was flowing and his jaws were curved because of his old age and paralysis. Then he was carried to the family chambers (dār al-ḥaram) because of kinship between him and Terken Khatun, the wife of sultan Sanjar. Then sultan Sanjar made his (khān's) son Naṣr Khān wālī and made him mount the throne of his domain and then returned (to Khurāsān).⁸⁴

Then Bahrām-Shāh, the lord of Ghazna, broke the agreement with sultan Sanjar⁸⁵ because of the distance between him and sultan Sanjar. So he (Sanjar) set out towards him (Bahrām) and gathered together his army. When he reached Bust, the approach (to the destination) became difficult for him, the mud became an obstacle (in his way), rains fell heavily and fodder (became) scarce. Sultan Sanjar did not care for it but was determined. He marched towards it (Ghazna) although straw was

dearer than gold in his army. When he approached Ghazna, Bahrām-Shāh left it, fled and reached Lahore. The inhabitants of Ghazna defended it against him, but sultan Sanjar conquered it and plundered and destroyed it. Then he declared an amnesty and stayed there until he had made it prosperous, set its affairs right and brought it under his suzerainty. After this he returned to Khurāsān.

Now he had become the greatest malik (f.52b) to whom Allāh had given power. Prayers were made for him from Lahore, Ghazna and Samarqand as far as Khurāsān, Ṭabaristān, Kirmān, Sijistān, Iṣfahān, Hamadān, Rayy, Āzarbā Ījān, Armenia, Arrāniyya, T.p.93 Baghdad, both the Iraqs,⁸⁶ Mosul, Diyārbakr,⁸⁷ Diyār Rabī'a,⁸⁸ Syria, Mecca and Medina. Coins were minted in his name all over these lands and in their towns and their maliks paid homage to him.⁸⁹

Matters remained thus until 536. But then the (Qara)-Khitays⁹⁰ inflicted a terrible defeat upon him and Transoxiana went out of the hands of the Muslims. The reason for this was that the horsemen of Qarluq⁹¹ spread all over the outskirts of Samarqand and they and their herds grew and the fear of their ability to harm and rebel increased. The isfahsalār of the amīrs suggested to the sultan that they should be removed and driven away and their children should be taken captives.

They (the Qarluq) sent him a messenger and promised him that they would provide him with 5,000 camels, 5,000 horses and 50,000 head of sheep. But he did not accept it. Circumstances drove them until they went and entered the lands of the Turks and intended to have an audience with Ūz-Khān (Gür-Khān),⁹² the lord of Khita,⁹³ Khotan⁹⁴ and N'MA (sic) who was the most powerful of all the pagan Turks and possessed the greatest strength among them (and) whose authority extended as far as the borders of China. When they reached there, they told him that Sultān al-A'zam Mu'izz al-Dīn Sanjar had become weak and that his troops had split up. They filled him with desire to (take over) those lands. So the (Qara)-Khitay set out intending to meet him (Sanjar). He (Gür-Khān) had with him 700,000 horsemen (f.53a) from the strongest men in his army. The sultan marched towards him (Gür-Khān) accompanied by 70,000 horsemen. But the amīrs (of the sultan) were divided in their motives. (Both the armies) faced each other and joined in battle against each other in which the army of sultan Sanjar was defeated. He himself remained standing with a small number (of his soldiers) under the insignia (chatr). Malik Abu'l-Faḍl, the malik of Sijistān suggested to him that the army had been routed and the troops of the pagans had encircled him. So it would be better

T.p.94 for him to escape and to make the mamlūk (Abu'l-

Faḍl) stand instead of him under the insignia. So he did this. He (Abu'l-Faḍl) remained standing there until he was taken captive. The queen Terken Khatun who was the daughter of Arslan-Khān, the wife of sultan Sanjar, amīr Qumach and his son and amīr Sonqur al-'Azīzī were also taken captive while amīr Ilaq, amīr Quraysh b. Zangī, amīr 'Umar b. Öner, amīr Yürün-Qush, the qārī and Maḥmūd al-Kāsānī were killed.

The state of affairs remained thus until the wife of the sultan, Terken Khatun, (was set free) by paying a ransom of 500,000 dīnārs while for amīr Qumach and his son a ransom of 100,000 dīnārs was paid.

Amīr al-Sayyid isfahsalār whose title was al-Sayyid al-Jalīl al-Samarqandī took refuge with Gür-Khān before the battle took place. So one of the learned men said about him:

"Is it not ignominy that a man wears clothes which a pious believer would not like?
It is a hard time for the 'True Religion' (Islam) that a descendant of the Prophet of Allāh should be seen in the clothes of the Qarluq."

As for malik Abu'l-Faḍl, the malik of Sijistān, Ūz-Khān (Gür-Khān), the pagan, learnt that his (Abu'l-Faḍl's) country had been seized by his sons. So he set him free and said that a brave man like him

(f.53b) should not be killed.

The (Qara)-Khitay Ūz-Khān (Gür-Khan), the pagan, conquered Transoxiana and the domain of khita also remained in his hands. The battle took place at a place called Qaṭwān.⁹⁵ Gür-Khān encircled them until he pushed them to the valley of Dargham.⁹⁶ This occurred on Tuesday, the 5th of the month of Ṣafar in the year 536.⁹⁷

T.p.95 Sultan Sanjar went to Balkh. He had passed in front of Gür-Khān because of the blockade of all other ways (of escape). Although Gür-Khān had recognised him, he let him pass and said: "The blockade of the way (of escape) for a defeated person compels him to join in a fight in which he loses his life. A man who has lost all hopes of getting out alive, does not think about consequences. Perhaps he may return triumphant while defending himself."

After the battle was over, Sayyid al-Imām Sharaf al-Zamān al-Ilāqī and ḥakīm al-Samarqandī and Ṣadr al-Imām al-Shahīd Ḥusām al-Dīn 'Umar b. Burhān al-Dīn Abd al-'Azīz⁹⁸ were put to death in front of Gür-Khān.

Shaykh Fakhr al-Dīn al-Mālikī said (the following verses) about this incident:

"In the valley of Dargham, the nobles
fell on evil days and their blood
was shed by the hands of mean people.

I wept over them and it was their
right that I should weep over them
with eyes which are half asleep.
You would think of them as if they
were, while tears were in them, like
the tails of tents on a cloudy morning."

While sultan Sanjar was on his march to meet
the (Qara)-Khitay, Khwārazm-Shāh 'Alā' al-Dīn Atsīz
b. Muḥammad b. Anūsh-Tegin⁹⁹ availed the opportunity
(f.54a) of his engagement and entered Marw by force.
He put to death the notables of the city, sat on
the throne of sultan Sanjar, drew his own royal
monogram (ṭughrā')¹⁰⁰ and transferred the boxes of
jewels from the treasury of sultan Sanjar (to that
of his own).

When the sultan returned defeated, Khwārazm-
Shāh 'Alā' al-Dīn Atsīz realised that fortune was
not in his favour. So he went back to Khwārazm.
(On the other hand) sultan Sanjar arrived in Marw.
So far he had spent 3,000,000 dīnārs on his military
expeditions other than (the amount spent on) bestow-
ing robes of honour on ceremonies. So he gathered
together his troops and marched towards Khwārazm-
Shāh. Sultan Sanjar arrived at the citadel of
Hazārasp, besieged it, and hit it with catapults.
He prolonged the siege until he had captured the
citadel by force. Then Khwārazm-Shāh 'Alā' al-
Dīn Atsīz returned to Sanjar the boxes he had
taken with him, with the official seal of Sanjar

(khatm al-Sanjarī) on them. He himself also rode (on a horse) and stopped before sultan Sanjar on the eastern bank of the river Oxus. Then he dismounted at a point where he could be seen. He then kissed the ground and made obeisance.¹⁰¹ After this Sanjar returned to Khurāsān. His power lasted at its apogee until the year 548.¹⁰²

THE REIGN IN IRAQ OF SULTAN MUGHĪTH AL-DĪN
ABU'L-QĀSIM MAḤMŪD B. MUḤAMMAD TAPAR, THE RIGHT
HAND (YAMĪN) OF THE COMMANDER OF THE FAITHFUL

He ascended to the throne after his father's death. The death of the commander of the Faithful, al-Mustazhir bi Allāh Abu'l-'Abbās¹⁰³ and the accession to the caliphate of al-Mustarshid bi Allāh Abū Maṣṣūr al-Faḍl coincided. So sultan Maḥmūd assured him his allegiance.

The chief ḥājib (amīr al-ḥājib) 'Alī Bār ran the affairs of the sultanate for him. Some incidents took place between sultan Maḥmūd and his uncle sultan Sanjar which have been mentioned before (f.54b). He (Maḥmūd) settled the matters with him (Sanjar) and rendered services to him. So sultan Sanjar made him ruler on his behalf.

In the year 513 a battle took place between the two brothers - sultan Mughīth al-Dīn Maḥmūd and malik Ghiyāth al-Dīn Mas'ūd near Hamadān. In this

battle victory came to sultan Maḥmūd.

The details of this battle are as follows:

Mas'ūd was given into the custody of amīr Cha'ush Beg who was his atabeg at Mosul. The armies of Syria and Diyārbakr were under his command. His title was Malik al-Maghrib because of the extent of the territories (under his sway).

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So atabeg Cha'ush Beg gathered together a great number of troops and assembled a large crowd. He made Mu'yyid al-Dīn,¹⁰⁴ the ¹⁰⁵ṭughrā'ī, wazīr to malik Mas'ūd. Sultan Maḥmūd came to know that he had amassed the troops and gathered large numbers. Cha'ush Beg came with malik Mas'ūd, under his insignia like the moon in its halo. When the two armies lined up against each other, malik Mas'ūd noticed his brother sultan Maḥmūd. So he (Mas'ūd) yearned for him. But Cha'ush Beg held him back and he could not turn towards him. He (Mas'ūd) shouted eḡi, eḡi which is a Turkish expression for elder brother.¹⁰⁶ Then malik Mas'ūd rode towards his brother sultan Maḥmūd, stopped beside him and surrendered to him his army and all the slaves he had with him for him to plunder and loot.¹⁰⁷ The first who was seized was his wazīr Mu'yyid al-Dīn Abū Ismā'īl, the ṭughrā'ī. (Wazīr) Kamāl (al-Mulk) was informed about it, so he told Shihāb As'ad that that man (Abū Ismā'īl) was a heretic. The wazīr (Kamal al-Mulk) said: "Anyone who is a heretic deserves to be killed." So he was

put to death unlawfully, may Allāh, the Almighty, shower great mercy upon him.

His reign (as wazīr) was one of great unrest (f.55a) and confiscations (muṣādarāt).

In the year 520, a discord (fitna) occurred between ^{the} sultan (Maḥmūd) and the imām al-Mustarshid at Baghdad which led to the deterioration of affairs between them. The discord lengthened till the sultan rode to the holy palace of al-Mustarshid.¹⁰⁸ He attacked it with his army. The caliph also fought him from the upper portion of the palace. Then wazīr Jalāl al-Dīn Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Ṣadaqa, who was the wazīr of the imām al-Mustarshid mediated (between them) regarding this discord. He cleared its (the discord's) darkness. This discord occurred in the last 10 days of the month of Dhu'l-Hijja in the year 520.

T.p.98 Then the year 521 came. Sultan Maḥmūd was still at Baghdad. He fell ill and was near to death and he decided to return to Hamadān. It came to his mind that the cause of the illness which had overtaken him was the battle against al-Mustarshid, the commander of the Faithful. He gave orders that he should be carried in the sedan. So he was carried (there) surrounded by his troops. When he passed near the palace of the caliph, he ordered a halt. Then he sent someone to the commander of the Faithful al-Mustarshid bi Allāh requesting him

to pardon him, to pray for him, to be pleased with him and to forgive his offences. A letter from al-Mustarshid came to him telling him of his approval of what he had sought in the way of favour and forgiveness. So his heart was delighted. Then he returned to Hamadān and his health was restored.¹⁰⁹

In the same year, (i.e.), the year 521, sultan Sanjar also marched towards Rayy and removed Shīrgīr,¹¹⁰ the atabeg of sultan Toghrīl, from the post of atabeg and appointed to it amīr Qara-Sonqur (f.55b). He granted the lands of Arrāniyya to him and made Toghrīl and Mas'ūd accompany him.

Before sultan Maḥmūd, the overall sovereignty used to rest with the maliks of Iraq. But since his reign it passed to the malik of Khurāsān, sultan Mu'izz al-Dīn Sanjar, as we have mentioned in (our) account of him.

During his (sultan Maḥmūd's) reign, the kingdom declined and its revenue decreased.

Shaykh 'Imād al-Dīn Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Iṣfahānī said: "I found the information in the handwriting of my uncle 'Azīz al-Islām Abū Ḥāmid that the treasure-house of the sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad contained 18,000,000 golden dīnārs as well as ornaments, jewels and different kinds of clothes. But then the circumstances deteriorated so much during the days of his son sultan Maḥmūd that when they asked for the payment of the wine-seller, they

could not pay until they gave him some boxes from
T.p.99 the treasury which he sold. Once he (the sultan)
asked Sābūr, the khādim, who was the treasurer, for
some musk mixture. But he complained that it had
run short and requested the sultan to allow him
some time. Then after some time he presented him
with 30 mithqāls. The sultan asked him as he had
been the treasurer of his father (too): "How much
perfume was in the treasury of my father, sultan
Muḥammad?" He said: "In the citadel of Iṣfāhān
there was about 180 raṭls of it kept in golden and
silver utensils." This astounded the sultan and he
said to the people present there: "(Are you not)
surprised at the difference between these days and
those."¹¹¹

(f.56a) Sultan Maḥmūd possessed a profound
knowledge of Arabic and had learnt many verses and
proverbs by heart. He knew history and biographies.¹¹²

He died in Shawwāl in the year 525.¹¹³ His
reign lasted for 13 years, 8 months and some days.

His sons: Muḥammad, Malik-Shāh and Dā'ūd.
None of them ruled as sultan. They remained (merely)
maliks.¹¹⁴

THE REIGN OF SULTAN RUKN AL-DĪN TOGHRĪL

B. MUḤAMMAD TAPAR B. MALIK-SHĀH B. ALP-

ARSLAN B. DĀ'ŪD B. MĪKĀ'ĪL B. SALJŪQ

T.p.100 When his brother sultan Maḥmūd died, the wazīr (Abu'l-Qāsim) al-Darguzīnī and the commanders of the army agreed to go to Rayy, to encamp there and to send a message to sultan Sanjar that he should come to them and appoint someone whom he would choose (to rule over them). So they went (there) and passed their winter at Rayy. They stayed there for five months. Then sultan Sanjar came to them in the month of Rabī' II in the year 526. The army of Iraq and the wazīr welcomed him. Then sultan Toghrīl also joined him on the second day of his arrival early in the morning and the soldiers met him. The wazīr dismounted before him. But Toghrīl did not either give him any attention or respect him, because he (the wazīr) was the one who had killed his (Toghrīl's) atabeg amīr Shīrgīr and his son amīr Sharaf al-Dawla 'Umar.¹¹⁵ Sultan Sanjar sat on the throne and then set out towards Hamadān. He stayed there for three days.

After this the news came that malik Mas'ūd, the brother of sultan Toghrīl had rebelled (f.56b) to secure the sultanate for himself and had sought help from amīr Qaracha al-Sāqī who was the atabeg of malik Saljūq-Shāh, the lord of the lands of Fārs. When sultan Toghrīl heard this while he was at Rayy,

he became afraid. He knew that Qaracha was an invincible horseman.

Sultan Sanjar also came to know about this. So he sent troops to sultan Toghrīl. They joined him and informed him that his uncle sultan Sanjar had assigned him the sultanate of Iraq and had made him his heir-apparent in Khurāsān and all his territories. This news pleased him and his heart rejoiced. Sultan Toghrīl was out riding (at this time). He returned to his tent having with him the amīrs of Khurāsān. That night, all of a sudden, a very hot fever seized him which became prolonged and he became pale although before he was the most handsome of people.

Sultan Sanjar set out from Hamadān in the direction of Nihāwand.¹¹⁶ Sultan Toghrīl also followed him along with the troops he had with him. (Meanwhile) news reached them that malik Mas'ūd had returned from Āzarbā ījān to Dīnawar.¹¹⁷ Sultan Sanjar and amīr Qumach marched on the right wing of sultan Toghrīl while on his left wing were Khwārazm-Shāh¹¹⁸ and a number of other amīrs.

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The left wing of sultan Mas'ūd attacked the right wing of sultan Sanjar where sultan Toghrīl was. So it (the left wing of sultan Mas'ūd) defeated it and sultan Toghrīl ran away to a distance of two farsakhs. But then he returned and stood firm beside his uncle sultan Sanjar.

Then the left wing of sultan Sanjar attacked the right wing of malik Mas'ūd and sultan Sanjar stood firm having with him the stalwarts (f.57a) amongst his mamlūks. Qaracha al-Sāqī and malik Mas'ūd were in the centre of the army. Sultan Sanjar rushed towards Qaracha and fought fiercely until he (Qaracha) was taken captive. Besides him, Yūsuf al-Cha'ush (who was) his friend and Tāj al-Dīn b. Dārust,¹¹⁹ the wazīr of malik Mas'ūd were (also) taken captive. Malik Mas'ūd (himself) ran away.

After three days sultan Sanjar mounted his horse and commanded that Qaracha and Yūsuf should be brought before him. So they were brought before him uncowed and he beheaded them.

Sultan Sanjar left in the morning of the same day. He had bestowed a robe of honour upon sultan Toghrīl, confided in him, advised him and commended him to the wazīr (Abu'l-Qāsim) al-Darguzīnī. He (Sanjar) bade farewell to him and returned to Khurāsān.

Sultan Toghrīl acceded to the throne of Hamadān in the month of Jumādā II in the year 526.¹²⁰

Then envoys on behalf of the commander of the Faithful al-Mustarshid bi Allāh came (to Hamadān) insisting that sultan Toghrīl should pay a visit to Baghdad. But he did not agree and matters between him and the caliph were never settled.

After Qaracha was killed, sultan Toghrīl made

amīr Mengü-Bars¹²¹ lord over the lands of Fārs, entrusted him with his son Alp-Arslan and gave him the title of atabeg.

Malik Dā'ūd b. Maḥmūd was the heir-apparent of his father and Ayaz was his atabeg. A group of the close associates of his father came to him and gathered at Tabrīz. Malik Dā'ūd advanced, having them with him until he reached Hamadān. Sultan T.p.102 Toghrīl came out towards him from Hamadān with his army.

When both the armies came in view of each other, a group of amīrs deserted the army of malik Dā'ūd. The two armies engaged in a battle (f.57b) and the army of malik Dā'ūd and their commander Aq-Sonqur (al-Aḥmadīlī)¹²² were put to flight. Amīr Yürün-Qush (al-Zakawī)¹²³ was taken captive. He paid a ransom of 70,000 dīnārs for himself and Qazwīn was taken from him.¹²⁴ He was then set free. Ṣafī al-Dīn, the mustawfī¹²⁵ was also taken captive and they mulcted 200,000 dīnārs from him. This battle took place in the month of Ramaḍān in the year 526.¹²⁶

In the year 527, malik Mas'ūd rebelled. He, malik Dā'ūd and Aq-Sonqur (al-Aḥmadīlī) met in Āzarbāījān. Sultan Toghrīl came towards them to Marāgha.¹²⁷ (In the meantime) malik Mas'ūd entered Baghdad. He discovered that the caliph al-Mustarshid bi Allāh had a hostile attitude towards sultan Toghrīl. The caliph conferred upon him the

sultanate and witnesses testified for both of them. The caliph lodged him (Mas'ūd) in the palace of the sultan and read the khutba in his name in the last Friday of the month of Muḥarram of the same year. He bestowed upon him a robe of honour on a Sunday after five days of Rabī' I had passed in the year 527. The caliph gave him an audience and he came before him and made enormous obeisance to him. The imām al-Mustarshid bi Allāh, after he (the sultan) wore the robe of honour, said to him: "Take this blessing in gratitude and keep the fear of Allāh in your private and public life."

The robe of honour (bestowed upon sultan Mas'ūd) consisted of seven garments of different kinds and colours. The seventh one was of black colour. A crown (was presented to him) which was studded with jewels and with a ruby. (Moreover) two bracelets and a golden necklace (were given to the sultan). The caliph put on his neck two swords with his own hands and also pitched two flags for him personally. He then handed over malik Dā'ūd, the son of his brother (Maḥmūd) to him, commended him (Dā'ūd) to him (Mas'ūd) verbally (f.58a) and said to him: "Be prepared and take what we have given you with full strength and be amongst the grateful."

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Malik Mas'ūd appointed Anūshirwān b. Khālīd¹²⁸ his wazīr.

Sultan Toghrīl was at Hamadān and his atabeg

Qara-Sonqur was in Āzarbā ījān. He had in his company a group of amīrs. When malik Mas'ūd returned to Āzarbā ījān, amīr Aq-Sonqur (al-Aḥmadīlī) went to Zanjān and 'Ayn al-Dawla to Khwārazm and amīr Bulāq to Ardabīl.¹²⁹ Malik Mas'ūd and Dā'ūd and Aq-Sonqur (al-Aḥmadīlī) took the reins of these lands in their hands. He (Mas'ūd) encamped at Ardabīl laying siege to it.¹³⁰ Its inhabitants were very strong.

(Abu'l-Qāsim) / ^{al-}Darguzīnī wrote (a letter) to (Toghrīl's) amīr atabeg Qara-Sonqur, persuading him to avail himself of the opportunity of their being unprepared. The wazīr in his correspondence urged him persistently to the extent that he (the wazīr) described his (Qara-Sonqur's) behaviour as (an act of) disobedience. When these remarks reached amīr Qara-Sonqur, he said: "Allāh has put us to a test because of this peasant." He then came out from Ardabīl at night along with the amīrs, who were with him, and travelled more than 20 farsakhs that night. So they came across the army of malik Mas'ūd in an exhausted state. A battle took place between them at the gate of Ardabīl and they fought each other until they had destroyed one another. Amīr Qara-Sonqur fled. Malik Mas'ūd chased the routed to the gate of Hamadān.

Sultan Toghrīl was with a small number of men in Hamadān. He came out and malik Mas'ūd went in.

Then sultan Toghrīl barricaded himself in Arwand¹³¹ and malik Mas'ūd came towards him intending to give him a battle. Sultan Toghrīl was suffering from a serious disease which prevented him from moving. So malik Mas'ūd met him and inflicted a defeat on his army. Sultan Toghrīl fled to Iṣfahān (f.58b) intending to go to Rayy. He fell on evil days. He said to his wazīr (al-Darguzīnī): "I know that this humiliation befell me only because of your tyrannical actions towards the people." So the wazīr said to him: "Do not worry. I have sent a message to the people of Alamūt and have commanded them to kill Aq-Sonqur (al-Aḥmadīlī) and all your enemies and they are going to carry it out." (Hearing this) sultan Toghrīl said: "Praise be to Allāh, who has uncovered the depravity (fasād) of your belief and thus made me guiltless in putting you to death." So he gave orders and the wazīr was beaten and (then) hanged. During the (process of) hanging him, the halter (ḥabl) broke off. But among the spectators there was a mamlūk of amīr Shīrgīr, who pounced on him at the time he fell down and hastened his death with a dagger he had with him. (The dead body of the wazīr) was torn limb from limb on the spot and his head and other organs were shown around, one organ in each town. The (incident of) his murder took place in Iṣfahān.

After this the news came that the Baṭīnīs had

attacked Aq-Sonqur (al-Aḥmadīlī) in his tent at the pasture of Qara-Tegin¹³² and assassinated him.

(After his assassination) his soldiers fled and deserted malik Mas'ūd. No one remained with him who could manage (the affairs of the kingdom) for him, although he had a crowd with him.

Then sultan Toghrīl set out in the direction of Rayy. Malik Mas'ūd pursued him with 6,000 horsemen, while sultan Toghrīl had with him 3,000 men. They fought each other and sultan Toghrīl was routed. He sought refuge with amīr Bulāq and amīr Sonqur, the lord of Zanjān. This incident took place on the 8th of the month of Rajab in the year 527. Sultan Toghrīl fled further to Ṭabaristān and stayed with iṣfahbad 'Alī.¹³³ He ('Alī) conferred honour upon him (f.59a) and received him hospitably. Dubays b. Ṣadaqa¹³⁴ was also (there) in his company. So iṣfahbad presented precious gifts to both of them.

When the winter had passed, the soldiers of sultan Toghrīl came to him. With them were their amīrs who had followers (behind them). Among them was 'Ayn al-Dawla Khwārazm-Shāh and others. Amīr Mengü-Bars, the atabeg of his son Alp-Arslan, the lord of the lands of Fārs, and the one whom sultan Toghrīl had made ruler over that area after the murder of Qaraḥa al-Sāqī, also joined him along with 2,000 horsemen. So the sultan marched with them intending to go to Hamadān. Malik Mas'ūd had

set out to Āzarbā ījān. Sultan Toghrīl sent his atabeg Qara-Sonqur to fight malik Dā'ūd at Marāgha. They engaged in a battle and malik Dā'ūd was put to flight.

Now sultan Toghrīl felt safe and the world became untroubled for him. But death came very soon to him. It happened because (of the fact) that he took some purgatives. As a result he was seized by colic, thus his strength declined and he died at Hamadān on the throne of his kingdom and was buried there.¹³⁵

His death occurred in the month of Muḥarram in the year 528.¹³⁶

His reign lasted for two years and a month or two.

His sons: (He had two sons) One Arslan-Shāh and the other his heir-apparent Alp-Arslan, who did not have the chance to accede to the throne.

His wazīrs: (One of them was) Qawām al-Darguzīnī whom he killed (later) as we have mentioned. He killed 'Azīz al-Islām Abū Ḥāmid al-Iṣfahānī, may the mercy of Allāh be upon him, the one who has been mentioned in the previous pages.¹³⁷ There was a gap of 40 days between his murder and of the wazīr.

He mulcted many people, the account of which would lengthen this short (chronicle).

None of the wazīrs of the Saljūqs after Nizām al-Mulk (f.59b) reached the level which al-Darguzīnī

had attained. It is said that he had come from Ansābād,¹³⁸ one of the villages of Darguzīn¹³⁹ and that his father remained a peasant during the days of his wizāra. After his murder, Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī b. Rajā' worked for the sultan as wazīr till the sultan died.

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THE REIGN OF SULTAN GHIYĀTH AL-DUNYĀ

 WA'L-DĪN ABU'L-FATH MAS'ŪD B. MUḤAMMAD

 TAPAR B. MALIK-SHĀH B. ALP-ARSLAN B.

 DĀ'ŪD B. MĪKĀ'ĪL B. SALJŪQ, THE PARTNER

 (QASĪM) OF THE COMMANDER OF THE FAITHFUL

His mother was a favourite slave girl of sultan Muḥammad Tapar, may the mercy of Allāh be upon him. She was called Nīstandar Jihān, which means 'peerless on earth'.

When sultan Muḥammad died, sultan Maḥmūd married her to amīr Mengü-Bars, whom sultan Sanjar had killed in the course of his (Sanjar's) march towards Iraq in the early days of sultan Maḥmūd, as we have (already) mentioned.¹⁴⁰

As for sultan Mas'ūd, his father commended him to amīr isfahsalār Mawdūd, the lord of Mosul, in the year 505. Mas'ūd stayed with him until Mawdūd was killed at Damascus. When the news of his murder reached sultan Muḥammad Tapar, he entrusted him to amīr Aq-Sonqur al-Bursuqī¹⁴¹ and granted him

Mosul and al-Jazīra as iqṭā'.

When sultan Mas'ūd came to the throne after his brother Toghrīl, Yürün-Qush, the bazdār,¹⁴² became the most powerful person in his (Mas'ūd's) court.¹⁴³

T.p.107 Atabeg Qara-Sonqur, the atabeg of sultan Toghrīl, was in Āzarbāījān when he (Toghrīl) died. So he went to Hamadān and made obeisance to Zubayda Khatun, the wife of sultan Mas'ūd who was the daughter of sultan Berk-Yaruq. She had great influence (f.60a) over the decisions of the sultan. She praised him (Qara-Sonqur) to her husband, which displeased Yürün-Qush, the bāzdār, and he rebelled. A group of great amīrs extended their support to him,¹⁴⁴ they all agreed to put certain demands before sultan Mas'ūd and they set out towards Burūjird. Sultan Mas'ūd stayed behind having with him amīr Qara-Sonqur. Then Khwārazm-Shāh (Atsiz) joined him along with his troops. Amīr Sābiq al-Dīn Rashīd also arrived from Khurāsān. Sultan Mas'ūd marched with them (towards Yürün-Qush and his associates). He met them (in a battle) and Yürün-Qush was routed. The sultan took many of the amīrs captive. But then Qara-Sonqur interceded (with the sultan) on their behalf and he allowed them to keep their iqṭā's.

Yürün-Qush despatched one of (the amīrs) to Baghdad and warned the caliph of sultan Mas'ūd's resolve to remove him (from the office). He (Yürün-Qush) did not stop until he had sowed hatred

between them. This led to the assassination of al-Mustarshid on Sunday, 14th of the month of Dhu'l-Ḥijja in the year 529.¹⁴⁵

One of the learned men passed by the palace of the caliph and said the following verses:

"May the peace of Allāh be upon you,
O desolate place. You have aroused
a new longing in me and you do not
know it.

Not a month has passed since I saw
you new and I did not think that the
vicissitudes of time would obliterate
your dwelling-places in a single month."

Al-Mustarshid had in his company ḥakim Abu'l-Barakāt b. Malkā.¹⁴⁶ When death approached him (Abu'l-Barakāt) he declared his belief in Allāh, the Almighty, and testified the (prophethood) of Muḥammad, peace of Allāh be upon him. The sultan singled him out for favours.

T.p.108

Yürün-Qush, the qārī, returned to Khurāsān and then the news of the assassination of al-Mustarshid bi Allāh came.¹⁴⁷ His heir-apparent was Abu'l-Faḍl, the commander of the Faithful, al-Rāshid bi Allāh. The people gave him their hands in allegiance (f.60b) with the covenant of Allāh.

Then atabeg 'Imād al-Dīn Zangī¹⁴⁸ b. Aq-Sonqur came to him from Mosul and stayed in Baghdad for six months. Sultan Mas'ūd was in Hamadān until the

lands of Iraq and Āzarbā ījān became peaceful. Then sultan Mas'ūd killed Amīr al-'Arab Dubays b. Ṣadaqa.¹⁴⁹

When sultan Mas'ūd became firmly established in Iraq, he started for Āzarbā ījān. Aq-Sonqur al-Aḥmadīlī was at Marāgha. So he (the sultan) besieged him there for two complete months until he came down to him seeking safe-conduct. He (the sultan) assigned him Marāgha and Tabrīz and took from him the citadel known as Ruwīn Diz,¹⁵⁰ that is to say the 'citadel of copper'. He appointed him ruler over there and gave its treasury into his charge.

He (the sultan) then returned to Hamadān and made for Baghdad. When al-Rāshid became aware of his arrival to Hulwān, he refused (to allow) his (entry to Baghdad). Amīr 'Imād al-Dīn, the atabeg was also with him in Baghdad. So the atabeg plundered the harem and went to Mosul. Al-Rāshid also accompanied him (to Mosul). When they both arrived there, sultan Mas'ūd came to Baghdad and despatched an envoy to Mosul to atabeg 'Imād al-Dīn Zangī. The caliph al-Rāshid bi Allāh became apprehensive that the atabeg might agree with sultan Mas'ūd to hand him (the caliph) over to him (the sultan). So he left Mosul with the intention of going to Khurāsān to sultan Sanjar. Amīr Toghan-Yūrek and malik Dā'ūd were inciting al-Rāshid to rebel and (gain) absolute power. But his wazīr

‘Alā al-Dīn Abu’l-Qāsim b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Qummī was counselling him and restraining him from doing so.

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When sultan Mas‘ūd was at Baghdad, he assembled those in authority (ahl al-hall wa’l-‘aqd) (f.61a) and they pledged allegiance to al-Muqtafī li amr Allāh (as the new) commander of the Faithful, (whose name was) Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. al-Mustazhīr bi Allāh.

The news that people had pledged their allegiance to al-Muqtafī li amr Allāh reached the caliph al-Rāshid bi Allāh, while he was at Dāmghān. So he wrote a letter to sultan Sanjar from Dāmghān in which he made a strong complaint against sultan Mas‘ūd. He (the caliph) asked him (Sanjar) for help and that he should assist him personally with his troops in the first 10 days of Ramaḍān in the year 531. So sultan Sanjar wrote a letter in reply to his (letter) saying that the army of the Muslims had returned to the banks of the Oxus and that undoubtedly¹⁵¹ the party of Allāh would be victorious in the last 20 days of Ramaḍān in the year 531.

When the reply of sultan Sanjar reached the caliph al-Rāshid bi Allāh and he learnt that the sultan had not agreed to what he had asked for, he returned from Dāmghān towards Āzarbā ījān and resolved to conquer the lands and take vengeance. So he made for Iraq. When he arrived at Iṣfahān

and captured it, he mounted (his horse) one day while in front of him there was a group of soldiers and a number of them, who were near him, pounced upon him while he was on horseback. So he, may the mercy of Allāh be upon him, was martyred at Iṣfahān in Ramadān in the year 532.¹⁵²

When sultan Mas'ūd had made al-Muqtafī lī amr Allāh, the commander of the Faithful, and had taken the oath of allegiance for him at Baghdad in the year 531, he (the sultan) returned towards al-Jibāl.

T.p.110 He was (then) informed that amīr atabeg Mengü-Bars, the lord of the lands of Fārs (f.61b) was bent on rebelling against him. So he sent atabeg Qara-Sonqur towards Iṣfahān and strengthened him with Yürün-Qush, the bāzdār, although (earlier) sultan Mas'ūd had made up his mind to kill him (Yürün-Qush). He provided them with the support of Chawllī, the jāndār and Sonqur, the lord of Zanjān. They all travelled till they reached Iṣfahān and they stayed there until the spring. Then the news reached them that Mengü-Bars had departed from Fārs along with the hordes of the Turks. Qara-Sonqur realised that his army was not capable of fighting him (Mengü-Bars). So he returned from Iṣfahān towards Hamadān and Mengü-Bars arrived and entered the city (of Iṣfahān). (After taking Iṣfahān) he set out towards Hamadān. So sultan Mas'ūd came out for a battle with him along with all the amīrs mentioned before. The

battle took place between them at (a place called) Kūrshanba.¹⁵³ The army of Fārs was put to flight. Mengü-Bars was taken captive. He was one of the most courageous people. Amīr Boz-Aba,¹⁵⁴ who was one of his closest associates said after the army had been routed: "Since we have returned with our lives, it is as if we have acquired booty." He thought that Mengü-Bars had escaped. When he was informed about the capture of Mengü-Bars, he swore that he would not go back until he had taken his (Mengü-Bars) revenge or died. So he came back with a group of the defeated (soldiers) after sultan Mas'ūd had returned to his tents and the war was over. He launched a sudden attack on their tents and sultan Mas'ūd ran away after he had fought fiercely to defend himself. Boz-Aba took most of the amīrs captive from their tents. 12 amīrs came into his hand from their (army). Among them were Ṣadaqa b. Dubays,¹⁵⁵ the Amīr al-'Arab and amīr 'Antar al-Jawānī and the chief hājib Er-Ghan and Sonqur, the lord of Zanjān and Muḥammad b. Qara-Sonqur. He put all of them to death. This incident took place in the end of 531. (f.62a) After this battle Boz-Aba returned to Fārs and became its ruler in the place of Mengü-Bars.¹⁵⁶

T.p.111

At this juncture sultan Mas'ūd made peace with his brother Saljūq(-Shāh), who had Qaracha al-Sāqī with him. He granted him the lands of Sukmān b.

Artuq¹⁵⁷ and Khilāt (Akhlāt) and its surroundings and Malāzgird and Arzan¹⁵⁸ as an iqtā' and gave him the services of an atabeg known as al-Salāhī¹⁵⁹ who was the iqtā'-holder at Tabriz.

In the year 533, Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Khāzin al-Rāzī,¹⁶⁰ the wazīr of the sultan stirred up trouble between him (the sultan) and Qara-Sonqur and said to the sultan: "Qara-Sonqur will not come before you since he has arrogated to himself the power of a sultan. And two swords cannot lie together in a single scabbard." So he arranged with the sultan to call Boz-Aba from Fārs. The news of this decision reached Qara-Sonqur while he was in Āzarbāījān. (On hearing this) he became furious and set out towards Hamadān along with 10,000 horsemen. He sent for malik Saljūq-(Shāh) from Khilāt and promised him that he would return him to Fārs and would oust Boz-Aba from it on his behalf. Malik Dā'ūd b. sultan Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad Tapar and his atabeg Ayaz also marched with him. He (Ayaz) was a protégé of Qara-Sonqur. When he (Qara-Sonqur) approached Hamadān, he despatched his kātib to sultan Mas'ūd writing him a letter on his behalf and on behalf of malik Saljūq-(Shāh), malik Dā'ūd and the group of the amīrs explaining to him that they (had decided to) advance (towards him) because they felt danger from the wazīr and that if he put the wazīr to death, they would renew their pledge of

allegiance to him. The sultan could not find any reason to put the wazīr to death, so he handed him over to the chief ḥājib Tatār, who had taken over
T.p.112 the post of the chief ḥājib after Er-Ghan (f.62b), the one whom Boz-Aba had killed in the course of the battle, the account of which has already been mentioned. This meeting took place in the month of Shawwāl of the year 533.

Then Qara-Sonqur came to sultan Mas'ūd along with the two maliks - Saljuq-(Shāh) and Dā'ūd b. Maḥmūd. Abū 'Izz al-Burūjirdī,¹⁶¹ the kātib of Qara-Sonqur was entrusted with the post of wazīr.

Then Qara-Sonqur set out along with the two maliks making for the lands of Fārs and reached Nawbandajān¹⁶² with a huge army. When Boz-Aba heard of his advance, he fled and took shelter in a citadel between Khūzistān and Fārs. Malik Saljūq-(Shāh) entered the town of Shīrāz and took power there. Qara-Sonqur intended to provide malik Saljūq-(Shāh) with some (more) troops, but the commander of the army of the malik, amīr Ghuzz-Oghlu al-Salāḥī who has been mentioned before, came (to Qara-Sonqur to ask him) not to do so.¹⁶³ He (al-Salāḥī) wanted to be in sole control. He said to Qara-Sonqur that he was capable (of performing the duties) for him. Qara-Sonqur appreciated this assurance from him and departed from him. He travelled to Hamadān by way of Khūzistān and sent a group of the amīrs on a

different route with malik Dā'ūd to carry out a plan he had worked out.

As for malik Saljūq-(Shāh) and Ghuzz-Oghlu, they both became preoccupied and did not think that the enemy would attack them. So Boz-Aba took them by surprise and killed most of their soldiers. He captured malik Saljūq-(Shāh) and took him to the citadel of Isfīd-Diz.¹⁶⁴ This was the end of his reign. Boz-Aba established himself in his territories. Awe of him increased and people feared he would do them harm.¹⁶⁵

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When this news reached Qara-Sonqur, he took to his heels straight away. He had firmly decided that after that he would no longer administer the affairs of his dominion. When he reached Burūjird, the news came to him that the town of (f.63a) Ganja and its outskirts had caved in because of a series of earthquakes.¹⁶⁶

In the year 534, Chawli, the jandār came from the lands of Arrāniyya and Āzarbā ījān along with his army intending to show his obedience to sultan Mas'ūd. He had already put amīr 'Abbās, the lord of Rayy, in the service of the sultan. This very 'Abbās was one of the ghulāms of Jawhar,¹⁶⁷ the favourite khādim who has been mentioned amongst the close associates of Sultān al-A'zam Sanjar. When sultan Sanjar set aside Rayy for himself, as we have mentioned above, he entrusted it to Jawhar, who

then assigned it to his mamlūk 'Abbās. When Jawhar was assassinated at the hand of the Bāṭinīs, the territory came under the sway of 'Abbās and he became strong through the army of his master and his mamlūks, who numbered 4,000, and were followed by huge troops. Then he busied himself with killing Bāṭinīs and avenged his master till he had built a minaret of their heads. Then a mū'adhdhin gave the adhān from it. He killed a great number of them, which no one can count except Allāh, the Almighty.¹⁶⁸

When Chawlī, the jāndār reached the presence of the sultan, he showed obedience to him and thus he rose high in the eyes of the sultan. The sultan had removed ḥājib Tatār from the post of the ḥājib and had given it to amīr Fakhr al-Dīn 'Abd Raḥmād b. Toghan-Yürek. Amīr Khāṣṣ Beg b. Palang-Eri was one of the close associates of the sultan. All of them agreed with Chawlī, the jāndār and 'Abbās on obedience to the sultan.

In the year 538, malik Dā'ūd b. sultan Maḥmūd was assassinated treacherously at the hand of the Bāṭinīs at Tabrīz (f.63b). Sultan Mas'ūd was his uncle, and he had given him his daughter in marriage and had assigned him Tabrīz and had enthroned him there.¹⁶⁹

In the same year, the friendship strengthened between 'Abbās, the lord of Rayy and Boz-Aba, the lord of Fārs and they agreed to seek the sultanate

for themselves. Boz-Aba wrote a letter to sultan Mas'ūd informing him that he intended to come to his presence. He marched from Shīrāz accompanied by two maliks - Muḥammad and Malik-Shāh, the sons of sultan Maḥmūd and the brothers of sultan Mas'ūd. 'Abbās came out from Rayy accompanied by Sulaymān-Shāh, another brother of the sultan, (all) pretending obedience to the sultan but concealing rebellion. The sultan wrote a letter to amīr Chawlī, the jāndār asking him to wait on him, but he (the sultan) found him displeased at the capture by the sultan of his (Chawlī's) wazīr Abu'l-'Izz al-Burūjirdī without his permission.¹⁷⁰ When the sultan learnt about this, he led his horsemen towards Baghdad and quickened his march. Among his amīrs who were accompanying him (on this occasion) were the chief ḥājib 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Toghan-Yürek—by the time Chawlī, the jāndār had become his son-in-law—and Khāṣṣ Beg b. Palang-Eri. Boz-Aba and 'Abbās also arrived at Hamadān to fight them, but they did not find sultan Mas'ūd and their plans went wrong.¹⁷¹ (By that time) amīr Nāṣir al-Dīn Khutul-Aba (Qutlugh-Aba) the bāzdārī had also joined them. So all of them wrote to amīr Chawlī, the jāndār saying to him: "You are our amīr and the most outstanding among us. If you come to us, you will be the commander of the armies who will ascend the throne of the kingdom (f.64a) and all of us will obey you." So he replied to their letter

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thanking them and returned their envoy with kindness. Then he gathered troops and Ayaz, the one who was the atabeg of malik Dā'ūd in his lifetime and amīr Shīrīn b. Aq-Sonqur joined him. Chawlī advanced with them towards Hamadān intending to give battle to those who had rebelled against sultan Mas'ūd. But they found that winter had gripped the whole area and that the snow had blocked the roads. So he waited with his army intact and despatched a messenger to sultan Mas'ūd to Baghdad in order to send for him. Sultan Mas'ūd set out on a quick march and travelled to Marāgha by way of the pass of Qarābulī¹⁷² till he joined Chawlī, the jāndār.

When the group of the above-mentioned amīrs in the company of sultan Mas'ūd, at the time of his march towards Baghdad, noticed the high esteem of Chawlī, the jāndār, they became jealous of him and agreed to kill him. Among them was the chief hājib 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Toghan-Yürek, (who was) his (Chawlī's) father-in-law, and Khāṣṣ Beg b. Palang-Eri, because he (Chawlī) had taken Tabrīz from him (Khāṣṣ Beg) and assigned it to Arslan.¹⁷³ So they plotted to kill Chawlī, the jāndār treacherously and he became wary of them. He used to pitch his tent in the vicinity of the tent of the sultan and he said to sultan Mas'ūd: "Although I am on terms of intimacy with you, you and I will only get together in one place after this when you are

riding your own horse and I am like this on my own." So (after this) they always met in this fashion. He also said to sultan Mas'ūd: "If you want me to remain in attendance on you, make me commander (of the army) and march against your enemies until Allāh fulfils your desires for them." Sultan Mas'ūd agreed with him¹⁷⁴ (f.64b) and gave orders that an official document should be written which guaranteed that he (the sultan) had entrusted the management of affairs to Chawli, the jāndār. He commanded the amīrs to be obedient to him.

Chawli, the jāndār (then) began (his efforts) to win over Sulaymān-Shāh to his brother and sent him a message of safe-conduct on behalf of sultan Mas'ūd. So Sulaymān-Shāh joined his brother¹⁷⁵ deserting 'Abbās. Then the Khwārazm-Shāh and his brother also joined him. They were followed by notable amīrs.

When Boz-Aba and 'Abbās learnt that the plan they had worked out had failed, they parted after agreeing on another meeting.

When the sultan learnt that they had parted company, he commanded Chawli to go in their pursuit. They travelled to the town of Sujās¹⁷⁶ and the sultan said to Chawli: "You follow the tracks of Boz-Aba, because he has the army and strength, while I shall march towards Rayy in the pursuit of 'Abbās." So Chawli went to Hamadān, and sultan

Mas'ūd (moved) towards Rayy. Then he (the sultan) seized his brother Sulaymān-Shāh and imprisoned him in the citadel of Sarjahān.¹⁷⁷

When Boz-Aba learnt about the intention of Chawlī, while he (Boz-Aba) was at Hamadān, he fled from it and left his treasures there.

When the news of the imprisonment of Sulaymān-Shāh reached Chawlī, he said to himself: "If this sultan has done this to his brother after (even when) he (his brother) deserted to him,¹⁷⁸ how will he behave with me who is a stranger to him?" So he sent a message to Boz-Aba (telling him): "I have not come towards you with the intention of fighting against you, but to seek your friendship and to form an alliance with you on the basis of what you wish." Boz-Aba sent him a message (in reply) telling him: "The proof (of the truthfulness) of what you have mentioned about seeking my friendship is (the return of) the treasure which I have left behind; this comprises 30 sacks of valuables which I have kept (f.65a) in the house of al-Athīr Abū 'Īsā." So Chawlī sent the sacks to him and thus an alliance was effected between Chawlī, Boz-Aba and 'Abbās on the basis that Boz-Aba would bring malik Muḥammad b. sultan Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad Tapar with him.

Estrangement became deep-rooted between them and
T.p.117 sultan Mas'ūd. They decided (to carry out their plan) in the month of Jumādā I of that year which

was 541. But fate was sneering at what they had agreed upon and had worked out. Affairs progressed until the time of their meeting. Chawlī despatched amīr Tatār to ask Boz-Aba to fulfil the promise. Chawlī was in the town of Miyānij.¹⁷⁹ When the chief ḥajib ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Toghan-Yürek learnt that Tatār had gone to Fārs, he advanced on behalf of sultan Mas‘ūd to turn away Tatār from Fārs. The duration of the stay became very long for Chawlī. His soldiers gathered around him, but the news about Boz-Aba and ‘Abbās was slow in reaching him and there was no other alternative for him but to march (without Boz-Aba and ‘Abbās). So he marched intending to go to Hamadān. He had with him 12,000 armoured infantry (dārī) and cavalry. He pitched his tents at Zanjān. He had opened a vein, although he was not ill and then he began to use his hand and a rabbit appeared in front of him. He pulled out his bow and shot it. His vein started to hurt and his arm swelled up and the blood passed to his throat and chest and then moved from his back to his stomach. So he died at Zanjān in Jumādā I in the year 541.¹⁸⁰

Al-Muẓaffar b. Sayyidī al-Zanjānī has said about him in an ode (qaṣīda):

"20,000 Indian swords were unsheathed.

But the cut of the lance blunted their blades."

Sa'd al-Dawla Yürün-Qush (al-Zakawī) and amīr Qizil, who was amīr akhur and others had died before him. So the soldiers disbanded and every one of them returned to his own place.

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When ḥajib 'Abd al-Raḥmān (f.65b) moved to turn away amīr Tatār from coming to amīr Boz-Aba, he wrote him a letter inducing him to work towards a reconciliation between sultan Mas'ūd and Boz-Aba. He said to him: "Say to Boz-Aba, this is the time for you to take the management of the kingdom in your hands." So Tatār hinted at this to Boz-Aba. Then letters were exchanged about it with 'Abbās. 'Abbās and Boz-Aba came out with their troops intending to have a meeting with sultan Mas'ūd. When they joined him, they put several demands before him, to which he agreed. (Accordingly) they made Tāj al-Dīn b. Dārūst al-Fārisī, the kātib of Boz-Aba his wazīr. Moreover, the sultan agreed with them that the lands of Arrāniya, Armenia, Azarbā'ījān and all those lands which used to be administered by Chawli, the jāndār would now be assigned to 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Toghan-Yürek and that Khāṣṣ Beg b. Palang-Eri would be in his (Ibn Toghan-Yürek's) service. It was also agreed upon that the attendance of the sultan for (these) three - 'Abd al-Raḥmān, Boz-Aba and 'Abbās would be in turn. So Boz-Aba departed to Fārs and 'Abd al-Raḥmān to his own territories. Sultan Mas'ūd having 'Abbās in his

company left for Baghdad. He had commanded Khāṣṣ Beg b. Palang-Eri to kill 'Abd al-Raḥmān if he should find an opportunity to do so. One day amīr 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Toghan-Yürek mounted his horse commanding the amīrs to fight against the Georgians. He would send them out one by one and would not leave anyone with him. Khāṣṣ Beg b. Palang-Eri was standing there and beside him was Zangī, the jāndār. They had both made up their minds to kill him. So the jāndār stepped forward and struck the skull of amīr 'Abd al-Raḥmān and inflicted wounds upon him. Then he ('Abd al-Raḥmān) was beaten to death.

Now Khāṣṣ Beg assumed the administration of Arrāniyya. He shared out (f.66a) the lands and marched to Ardabīl, in order to besiege it. At Ardabīl, there was amīr Aq-Arslan.¹⁸¹ He (Khāṣṣ Beg) ousted him from there giving him safe-conduct.

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When the news reached Baghdad where the sultan was staying having 'Abbās with him, he (the sultan) summoned 'Abbās to his palace pretending that he wanted to consult him about what he was going to do. But when he came in, he (the sultan) commanded (his men) to kill him. So he was beheaded and his corpse was thrown away. This incident took place on the early morning, on Thursday in Dhu'l-Qa'da in the year 541.

Then the army of 'Abbās mounted their horses. Their commander was amīr Aq-Sonqur al-Fīrūzkūhī.

They attacked sultan Mas'ūd, but he paid no attention (to them). His soldiers mounted their horses and defended his palace. Then he called him (Aq-Sonqur) and made him the ruler of Rayy instead of his master. So he returned gratefully.¹⁸²

That winter sultan Mas'ūd stayed in Baghdad. When the winter became mild, he learnt of the movement of Boz-Aba from Fārs seeking vengeance for his two allies. So sultan Mas'ūd quickened his march towards Hamadān in order to reach there before Boz-Aba. He sent urgent messages to Khāṣṣ Beg summoning him to join him.

Boz-Aba travelled having with him two maliks Muḥammad and Malik-Shāh, the sons of sultan Maḥmūd till he arrived in Iṣfahān and took possession of it. Ṣadr al-Dīn b. al-Khujandī¹⁸³ surrendered it to him. He (Boz-Aba) enthroned the two maliks and five drums were beaten in their honour. Then he set out in the direction of Hamadān till he reached Marj Qara-Tegin, which is at one day's distance from Hamadān. The son of 'Abbās, (who was) the lord of Rayy, also joined him.

When sultan Mas'ūd learnt about their approach (to Hamadān), he came out towards them along with his army. He sent a messenger to Khāṣṣ-Beg urging him to hasten (to his help) (f.66b). So Khāṣṣ Beg arrived (to him) and the time for a battle between (these) huge armies had come. They joined in

battle against each other at Marj (Qara-Tegin). Boz-Aba himself attacked the centre of the army of sultan Mas'ūd and the army was on the verge of defeat. But when he reached the very centre, his horse stumbled and he was seized and taken to T.p.120 sultan Mas'ūd. The sultan scolded him severely, but he did not either speak or complain of pain. The sultan wanted to spare his life, but Khāṣṣ Beg did not agree. So sultan Mas'ūd put him to death. Ibn 'Abbās was found dead (in the battlefield)¹⁸⁴ and the two maliks fled. Then sultan Mas'ūd corresponded with his nephew malik Muḥammad and gave him his daughter's hand in marriage and assigned him the province of Khūzistān.¹⁸⁵

When no one remained who could contend with Khāṣṣ Beg in power, he seized ḥājib Tatār and killed him in the month of Rabī' I in the year 543.¹⁸⁶

After this a group of amīrs¹⁸⁷ came to Baghdad, having with them malik Malīk-Shāh b. Maḥmūd. All of them were co-operating with each other to depose sultan Mas'ūd. The citizens of Baghdad came out to drive them away from there and they (the amīrs) fled from them until they reached open ground. (There) they (the amīrs) overwhelmed them (the citizens of Baghdad) and killed 500 of them. Then they demanded 30,000 dīnārs from caliph al-Muqtafī li amr Allāh, so that they might return. His (the caliph's) kātibs advised him to (accept) this,

except Yaḥyā b. Hubayra,¹⁸⁸ the ṣāḥib al-dīwān, who said to him: "If it is unavoidable to spend this sum of money, it would be better to spend it on the army which will defend them (the people) from the Turks being let loose in Baghdad and from other troublemakers. It would be a favour to sultan Mas'ūd. Moreover, if this (amount) is given to them, they will turn Baghdad into a den for themselves." So the caliph accepted his suggestion and came out with this army towards them and routed them.¹⁸⁹ As this was a sound piece of advice and a far-sighted idea, the caliph thought it proper to make Ibn Hubayra his wazīr. So he conferred upon him the robe of honour of (the post of wazīr) on Wednesday, the 14th Rabī' I, in the year 543.

Abu 'l-Qāsim Hibat Allāh b. al-Faḍl al-Baghdādī¹⁹⁰ was a learned physician. He was a contemporary of T.p.121 Khayṣ Bays.¹⁹¹ Both of them came out with the soldiers of the caliph. Hibat Allāh composed an ode (qaṣīda). Here are some verses of it:¹⁹²

"In the victorious army we are an ignoble party. What a mean people we are!

Take our intelligence from our action in what you see of worthlessness, stupidity and baseness.

We are unable to take Takrīt, but in our foolishness we are marching to take Tirmidh from Sanjar.

Khayṣ Bayṣ is a warrior with his
spear and I am with my medicine,
the doctor of the army.

He is not frightened of killing a
fly and I do not mind curing a
fleeing sickness.

I shed blood with my knife while
his sword, in (its) sheath has
never been drawn (to cut) a nail
of the little finger."

In the month of Sha'bān of this year Sultān al-
A'zam Mu'izz al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn Abu'l-Hārith Sanjar
came to Rayy. He did so when he heard about the
events which had taken place in Iraq as the result
of the evasive policy of his amīrs and the supremacy
of Khāṣṣ Beg b. Palang-Eri over the affairs of
sultan Mas'ūd. He marched despite his old age and
reached Rayy. When this news reached sultan Mas'ūd,
he left Hamadān in panic intending to go towards
Baghdad. But Sharaf al-Dīn, the khādim, folded the
reins (of his horse) and said (to him): "You (f.67b)
cannot fight your uncle. It would be wise for you
to go to him and make obeisance to him as your
brother has done." So he set out towards Rayy.
Khāṣṣ Beg and the wazīr refused to follow him.
When he reached his uncle sultan Mu'izz al-Dīn
Sanjar, he (Sanjar) gave him an extremely hospitable
reception, conferred upon him a robe of honour and
forgot his every misdeed after he had seen him.

Sultan Mas'ūd interceded with him for Khāṣṣ Beg and he accepted it. Then he (Sanjar) bade farewell to him and returned to Khurāsān. Sultan Mas'ūd (also) returned (from Rayy) and spent his winter in Baghdad and then came to Hamadān, where he died.¹⁹³

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THE ACCOUNT OF HIS (SULTAN MAS'ŪD'S) LIFE

He was a man of sound morals and would neither accept back-biting nor encourage back-biters. But he elevated mean people and relied heavily on fate. He died in the year 547¹⁹⁴ and was buried at Hamadān in the madrassa which was founded by Jamāl al-Dīn Iqbāl, the jandār, the khādim.

His reign lasted for about 16 years.

His wazīrs: Qaracha al-Sāqī appointed Tāj al-Dīn Dārust as his (Mas'ūd's) wazīr at the time of his first rebellion against his brother sultan Toghrīl. Then he (sultan Mas'ūd) made Anūshirwān b. Khālīd his wazīr when he entered Baghdad during the reign of his brother in the year 527. After him he made 'Imād al-Dīn Abu'l-Barakāt al-Darguzīnī his wazīr. He belonged to the family of (Abu'l-Qāsim) Qawām, but he did not possess the administrative ability which the job of a wazīr required. So he (Mas'ūd) deposed him and made Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Khāzin al-Rāzī his wazīr. He deposed

Abu'l-Barākāt politely. This wazīr (al-Rāzī) was the most capable of the wazīrs in administering the affairs of the kingdom. He worked for him till Qara-Sonqur, malik Dā'ūd (f.68a) and Malik-Shāh b. sultan Maḥmūd united and decided to kill him which was in the month of Shawwāl in the year 533. Then he made Majd al-Dīn 'Izz al-Mulk Abu'l-'Izz al-Burūjirdī his wazīr. He ('Izz al-Mulk) possessed great wealth. It is said that during the days when he was working as wazīr, he had 400 villages in his possession. Then the sultan dismissed him in the year 539 and mulcted him. Then the sultan appointed Mu'ayyid al-Dīn al-Marzubān b. 'Abd Allāh al-Isfahānī¹⁹⁵ his wazīr. But 'Izz al-Mulk murdered him. He strangled him. He ('Abd Allāh) was a wine-bibber and could not live without (wine) even for an hour.

T.p.123 Then the sultan reinstated Tāj al-Dīn b. Dārūst to the post of wazīr. Tāj al-Dīn had been the kātib of Boz-Aba, the lord of Fārs. After him he made Shams al-Dīn Abu'l-Najīb al-Aṣamm al-Darguzīnī¹⁹⁶ his wazīr. He (the sultan) died while he (al-Aṣamm) was still his wazīr.¹⁹⁷

When sultan Mas'ūd died, as we have mentioned above, his entourage pitched their hopes on Sulṭān al-A'ẓam Mu'izz al-Dīn Sanjar and displayed hatred against one another. Everyone began to covet the status of the other with the sultan and felt jealous of one another's position.

When he (Sanjar) became involved in a battle against the Ghuzz, the Ghuzz were unable to fight (even) one of his amīrs. (But) their (the amīr's) jealousy of the amīr Mu'ayyid b. Yürün-Qush led them to desert him, while he was engaged in fighting. They left him alone and many wounds were inflicted upon him. He was taken from the battlefield while he was breathing his last and he died at that very hour.

When the sultan noticed that they (the amīrs) had deserted him and betrayed the greatest of his amīrs, he realised that if he made war on the Ghuzz, they would betray him. So he did not fight against them (the Ghuzz) and left the tribe alone and returned to Balkh and then from Balkh to Marw. The Ghuzz went in pursuit of him to Marw. He entered the town and stayed (f.68b) there for a number of days. Then he came out towards them as has been mentioned in the beginning of our book. He remained with them from the month of Rabī' I in the year 548 and stayed with them till the month of Ramaḍān in the year 551.¹⁹⁸

Then he escaped from amongst them in the same year from Balkh while they were unaware. He crossed the river Oxus and entered the citadel of Tirmidh where there was amīr 'Imād al-Dīn Aḥmad b. 'Alā' al-Dīn Abū Bakr b. Qumach.¹⁹⁹

After this amīr Ay-Aba al-Mu'ayyid²⁰⁰ set out

from Nīshāpūr to wait on the sultan. When he reached Tirmidh, the sultan despatched him towards Ṣaghāniyān (Chaghāniyān)²⁰¹ and sent amīr Qay-Aba al-Qumachī with him.

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One day amīr al-Mu'ayyid (Ay-Aba) held a wine-party and summoned amīr Qay-Aba. He had already charged some of the commanders to kill him and he was murdered, while he was sitting in front of amīr al-Mu'ayyid (Ay-Aba) while both were playing backgammon (nard).

When the news reached amīr 'Imād al-Dīn Aḥmad b. 'Alā' al-Dīn, he was beside himself with rage because of this. He entered the palace of the sultan and murdered some of his close associates in his (the sultan's) presence. He also killed a number of the amīrs of the sultan and the entourage of al-Mu'ayyid (Ay-Aba) and then closed the gate of the citadel.

Then amīr al-Mu'ayyid (Ay-Aba) returned to Tirmidh. But the soldiers became restless and there was unpleasantness between them and the sultan.

Then a reconciliation took place on the basis that amīr 'Imād al-Dīn Aḥmād would give the sultan safe-conduct, so that he might come out of the citadel. So the sultan came out and moved to Marw in Ramaḍān of the year 551 (f.69a). The soldiers gathered around him and the amīrs came to him from distant regions. The period of his stay amongst

the Ghuzz lasted from Jumādā I in the year 548 till Ramaḍān 551.

Sultan Mu'izz al-Dīn Abu'l-Ḥārith Sanjar b. Malik-Shāh b. Alp-Arslan b. Dā'ūd b. Mīkā'il b. Saljūq was born when there were still five days left in Rajab of the year 479. He died after his escape from the Ghuzz on Monday, 14th Rabī' I in the year 552.²⁰² He was buried in a dome, which he had built for himself and called the dār al-ākhirā.

His reign as sultan lasted for about 40 years, and he had been a malik for 62 years. He lived for 72 years, 8 months and 10 days.

T.p.125 Sanjar had jewels in his possession, which weighed in total, 1,030 raṭls and this was great wealth. But it could not be considered enormous for one who had taken away all that sultan Ghāzī Abu'l-Qāsim Maḥmūd b. Sebūk-Tegin and the Būyids had amassed.

When the Ghuzz captured sultan Sanjar, they treated him harshly and fixed a ration for him which was below even the standard of his groom. He rode with them under custody and guard whilst they addressed him as sultan, kissed the ground before him and said that they were his subjects and showed their obeisance to him. But he had no power whatsoever.

Sultan Sanjar was one of the most distinguished (personalities) among the house of Saljūq (f.69b)

as regards intellect, knowledge, love for the 'ulamā' and noble-heartedness. He was one of the greatest of the maliks as regards determination.

Ẓahīr al-Dīn, the treasurer, mentioned that the cash which sultan Sanjar distributed in five consecutive days reached 700,000 dīnārs. (Moreover he gave away) 1,000 clothes of red satin. (These were) apart from horses and robes of honour (which he distributed).

One of the anecdotes about him and the 'ulamā' is that at the time when civil strife (fitna) broke out between the Shāfi'īs and Ḥanafīs and 70 men were killed from among the Ḥanafīs in Nīshāpūr, sultan Sanjar was encamped near Nīshāpūr. He summoned the chief ḥājib Maḥmūd al-Qāshānī and commanded him to go to Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā and tell him: "The sultan says to you: Does this town belong to you or to me. If it belongs to me, then get out of it and if it belongs to you then be prepared for me; whatever the case may be, you must leave the town and get out of it." So Maḥmūd (al-Qāshānī) came to the circle of shaykh Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā at the Friday mosque of Nīshāpūr where he was sitting and reading. He (the shaykh) did not pay any attention to him and did not stop reading. So the ḥājib sat and said salām to him. Then he (the shaykh) raised his head and said (in reply): "And (also) on the pious servants of Allāh." Then the ḥājib sat on his knees before

him and said (to him): "The sultan says salām to you and says we are aware of what has happened in this matter. You are the judge (ḥākim) of it. So take whatever action you want. None will either
T.p.126 argue with you in this matter nor disobey your orders. Whatever blessing we have obtained is because of your benediction and the treasures of your prayers." Then the ḥājib returned to the sultan while the sultan was sorely regretting sending him and was waiting for the return of the ḥājib. The sultan asked him what (f.70a) he had told shaykh Muḥammad. The ḥājib repeated exactly what he had told him and the sultan said: "Swear by my life that you have told him this." So he swore to him and the sultan became very pleased with him. Then the sultan said to him: "You are a wise man." He (the sultan) elevated his rank and added the administration of Nīshāpūr to him. May the mercy of Allāh be upon him.

After his (Sanjar's) death the rule of the Saljūqs over the lands of Transoxiana and Baghdad ceased and the Khwārazm-Shāh captured his territories.

(NOW) WE RETURN TO THE ACCOUNT OF THE
AFFAIRS OF IRAQ AND THE EVENTS WHICH
TOOK PLACE THERE²⁰³

When sultan Mas'ūd passed away, he had no male

son. During the whole of his reign, amīr Khāṣṣ Beg b. Palang-Eri ruled him, his lands and his army in a friendly and willing way and it was not a rule of insubordination and rebellion. When sultan Mas'ūd died, all the amīrs came to him and held a discussion as to whom they should instal in the office of the sultan. Their opinions differed about the issue.

Sultan Muḥammad and his brother Malik-Shāh, the sons of sultan Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad Tapar b. Malik-Shāh were in Khūzistān, which sultan Mas'ūd had made as an appanage (ṭu'ma)²⁰⁴ for them.²⁰⁵ When they learnt of the death of the sultan, they left Khūzistān. Malik Muḥammad set out towards Hamadān, while Malik-Shāh made for Iṣfahān.

All the amīrs were inclined towards sultan Muḥammad, while Khāṣṣ Beg b. Palang-Eri and amīr Zangī, the jāndār preferred Malik-Shāh.

Sultan Muḥammad quickened his march towards Hamadān, where all the troops had gathered. When
T.p.127 he reached (f.70b) the gate of Hamadān, all the amīrs came out to make their obeisance to him except Khāṣṣ Beg b. Palang-Eri and amīr Zangī, the jāndār, the lord of Āzarbā Ījān. They both did not come out to make obeisance to the sultan. But when sultan Muḥammad settled down in the new summer palace²⁰⁶ at the gate of Hamadān and the army and all the amīrs made their obeisance to the sultan, Khāṣṣ Beg b. Palang-Eri and amīr Zangī were obliged to make pledges and assurances to sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn

Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad Tapar. They sought safe-conduct from him and then came to him at the summer palace to make obeisance to him. He met both of them in a respectful manner and distinguished them by honouring them and revering them. He returned both of them their jobs and assigned amīr Khāṣṣ Beg b. Palang-Eri the office of the atabeg of the army and auxiliary troops as he had been carrying out this (duty) during the reign of sultan Mas'ūd.

Khāṣṣ Beg b. Palang-Eri would attend the sultan every day to make obeisance to him and would bestow upon him rewards, honours and respect. The situation remained thus for some time. Sultan Muḥammad was trying to win him over by all kinds of favours in his reach, whilst he (Khāṣṣ Beg) was harbouring rancour and feelings of rebellion. This was until it became known to sultan Muḥammad that he (Khāṣṣ Beg) had written a letter to malik Malik-Shāh persuading him to march on Hamadān, so the authority over it might be assigned to him. He (the sultan) invited him (Khāṣṣ Beg) one day to a banquet, which he had arranged. He (Khāṣṣ Beg) and amīr Zangī, the jāndār came to him and entered his (the sultan's) presence. He had already arranged a party of his associates and had commanded them to kill them with the swords when they entered (to him). So when they appeared before him, they (the party) pounced upon them (f.71a) and killed them in

front of him (the sultan). Then they cut off the heads of both of them and threw them out of the palace. The news of their murder spread among the army and their associates ran away. A great deal of slaughter and looting of their cattle, weapons and belongings ensued among them. Sultan Muḥammad entered Hamadān and thus he had won what he had long coveted in the way of sovereignty.²⁰⁷ The roads of the territories became open to him and the garments of power were put upon him. When his brother Malik-Shāh found out about it, he fled from Iṣfahān and returned to Khūzistān.²⁰⁸

Amīr Shams al-Dīn Eldigüz was at Arrān. He had secured all the riches for himself. All his efforts were concentrated to protect his own possessions until the hidden facts came to light and the reality of affairs, both veiled (mastūr) and unveiled (zāhir) became clear to him. So he stayed on at Nakhchiwān²⁰⁹ and corresponded with sultan Muḥammad (saying) that he was his follower and mamlūk, obedient to his commandments and heedful of his prohibitions and rebukes. If the sultan preferred him to come into his presence, then he would come and if he deemed it proper that he ^(Eldigüz) should stay in the face of the enemy of Islam, he would stay. A large number and a huge crowd of the Turcomans had gathered around him. Sultan Muḥammad replied in a letter to him (saying) that there was

no need at that time for him to come to his presence but that he should stay where he was as a helper of the Muslims and a stronghold (ḥiṣn) for them in the face of the treachery of the infidels.²¹⁰

The sultan stayed at Hamadān and continued corresponding with (the amīrs of) the outskirts. All of them paid allegiance to him, there was no one among them who did not extend the hand of allegiance to him or who did not submit and become subservient to him. (f.71b) The lands came under his sway and he assigned the administration of Rayy to Īnanch who had been ruling it since the reign of sultan Mas'ūd. The khutba was read in his name in Mosul, Diyārbakr, Khilāṭ (Akhlāṭ) and the rest of the territories.

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THE ACCOUNT OF WHAT TOOK PLACE IN
BAGHDAD AFTER THE DEATH OF SULTAN MAS'ŪD

When sultan Mas'ūd came to the imām al-Muqtafī li amr Allāh, he (the sultan) took promises and assurances from him (al-Muqtafī) that he would not buy Turk ghulāms. So he gave him his promise on it.

The followers of sultan Mas'ūd used to perpetrate misdeeds in Baghdad, most of which went against the will of al-Muqtafī li amr Allāh. Often he would prohibit them from acting in this manner, but they would not desist. He would scold them

but they would not take any heed of it. The nā'ib of the sultan at Baghdad was Mas'ūd al-Bilālī, a khādim of weak mind and judgement, who cared very little for religion and was far from sound in his behaviour, (always) prone to evil acts. He approved actions most of which were contrary to the shar' and far from the recognised principles of politics. By this he intended to frighten the imām al-Muqtafī li amr Allāh. Letters containing complaints against him came continually from the (caliph's) honourable dīwān (diwān al-'azīz) to sultan Mas'ūd. Sometimes he (the sultan) would prevent him (al-Bilālī) from acting thus and sometimes he would overlook what he did. As a result of this, unpleasant feelings developed in the mind of the imām al-Muqtafī li amr Allāh and he harboured rancour. So when sultan Mas'ūd died, he embarked upon the task of ousting the Turks (a'ājim) from Baghdad. He possessed (f.72a) mamlūks some of whom were Greeks and some Armenians. He made them amīrs and assigned different regions of Iraq to each of them. Mas'ūd al-Bilālī fled from Baghdad, gathered a body (of soldiers) and returned to Baghdad. Wazīr 'Awn al-Dīn Yahyā b. Hubayra came out towards him and put him to flight. Then he again assembled his followers and made for al-Hilla. Once again wazīr 'Awn al-Dīn came out towards him and caused him to flee. (This time) his flight ended at al-Liḥf²¹¹ where he stayed

T.p.130 for some time. Sultan Muḥammad had assisted him with amīr Sallājūr²¹² b. al-Zuhayrī al-Kurdī, who was one of the greatest amīrs of the sultan.²¹³ They both came to an agreement and intended to go towards al-Ḥilla. A large army gathered round them and wazīr Awn al-Dīn prepared to give them battle. Mas'ūd al-Bilālī happened to arrange a banquet while he was encamped on the western side of al-Ḥilla while Sallār (al-Kurdī) was encamped on its eastern side. Mas'ūd al-Bilālī crossed the river in order to invite him to the banquet. So he went with him and stepped into a small boat, so that both of them might cross the river to the western bank and attend the banquet. But the banquet turned into a lament for amīr Sallār (al-Kurdī). Mas'ūd al-Bilālī seized him while he was sitting (with him) in the boat and tied something weighty around his legs. He then threw him into the Euphrates and he was drowned at the spot. His followers on the bank of the Euphrates were looking at him, but were helpless to rescue him and they all scattered. Mas'ūd al-Bilālī fled and went to Hamadān to visit (f.72b) sultan Muḥammad. He told him that Sallār (al-Kurdī) had corresponded with the imām al-Muqtafī li amr Allāh and had agreed with him that he would seize him (al-Bilālī) and would hand him over to him' (al-Muqtafī). So he (al-Bilālī) carried out that act.

Mas'ūd al-Bilālī would attend sultan Muḥammad

and would make (the task) of taking Baghdad seem easy to him and would (say to him) that when he attacked its inhabitants, none of them would stand up to him and that he could take the city in the shortest time. (He also said) that the people who lived in Baghdad were a nation who had no experience of war and they knew nothing about fighting with the spear or sword. (Moreover) no one would tell them (the inhabitants of Baghdad) about the small number of his (al-Bilālī's) soldiers.²¹⁴ So had there been only 1,000 horsemen of the sultan in Iraq, they could have achieved what they had wished. During all this, sultan Muḥammad would listen to his talk but would pay no heed to what he said. He (the sultan) would hope that the action would come from his (al-Bilālī's) side.

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He (the sultan) kept writing to the imām al-Muqtafī li amr Allāh and made strong oaths to him (saying to him): "I am not like those sultans who have come before me. I am an obedient follower and believe in (loyalty) to the imām. I will not go beyond what I am commanded to and will not perpetrate what I am forbidden. When you are pleased (with me), I will think I am among those favoured by Allāh, and when the imām²¹⁵ is displeased with me, I will think I am among those rejected by Allāh." But the imām al-Muqtafī did not give him a pleasing reply.

When Mas'ūd al-Bilālī realised that matters were becoming protracted and that the movement of the sultan towards Baghdad was slow, he returned to Takrīt²¹⁶ without (the sultan's) permission. (f.73a) (At Takrīt) there was malik Arslan-Shāh b. sultan Toghrīl, who was a small child. So he took him (with him) and made for al-Liḥf. (At al-Liḥf) there was Alp-Qush, one of the amīrs of sultan Mas'ūd who had a huge army. Mas'ūd al-Bilālī stayed with him having with him Arslan-Shāh b. sultan Toghrīl. All the Turcomans gathered around them and they marched with troops like a flood. The dust (caused by them) covered the face of the sky.

The news of their (march) reached al-Muqtafī li amr Allāh. He had rallied a great army of his followers and all the Jāwānī Kurds,²¹⁷ whose commander was Muhalhil. He had granted him al-Ḥilla and its outskirts as an iqtā'. Amīr Quwaydan (had also come to him) who was one of the notables among the amīrs of the sultan. Troops (also) came up from Wāsiṭ,²¹⁸ Baṣra and Iraq. Their commander was amīr Mengü-Bars al-Mustarshidī, who was given Baṣra and its outskirts as an iqtā'. (Apart from them) Qutugh-Bars, the lord of Wāsiṭ and its surroundings and amīr Badr b. Muḥaffar b. Ḥammād,²¹⁹ the lord of Gharrāf²²⁰ and Baṭā'ih²²¹ (also joined him). Thus an army gathered at Baghdad, the like

of which had never gathered before on any occasion. The imām al-Muqtafī li amr Allāh came out of Baghdad in person and encamped at Rād al-Rūdh²²² (?). Alp-Qush and Mas'ūd al-Bilālī advanced (towards Baghdad) having with them malik Arslan-Shāh b. sultan Toghrīl and all the Turcomans, who numbered about 30,000 fighters. They agreed upon a time for joining in battle and they took the field (against them) early in the morning. The commander of the Faithful al-Muqtafī li amr Allāh had also mobilised his troops. He put (f.73b) Quwaydān, Ibn Salama al-Qummī and Badr b. Hammād, the lord of Gharrāf and another party on the right wing of the army, while amīr Qutlugh-Bars, the lord of Wāsiṭ, who was one of the mamlūks of the empire, on the left wing. He (al-Muqtafī) himself held his ground in the centre of the army having with him his mamlūks and associations. Mengü-Bars al-Mustarshidī, the lord of Baṣra also stood with him in the centre. He (Mengü-Bars) had become powerful in Syria after the murder of al-Mustarshid and had built up a great reputation there. When he was in the army or among a body of troops, none of the Franks could withstand him because of his courage and fierceness. He was married to the daughter of the lord of Damascus, amīr Mu'īn al-Dīn Öner.²²³ When the imām al-Muqtafī had gained sole authority over Iraq, he summoned him from Damascus and entrusted the management of the affairs of

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Basra to him. He was experienced in organising the army and in military affairs. So he stayed with the imām al-Muqtafī li amr Allāh in the centre of the army. Wazīr 'Awn al-Dīn b. Hubayra was also in the centre.

After this, both parties joined in battle against each other. Amīr Mengü-Bars stayed between the two lines straightening out the rows and advising them (the soldiers) to stay there until they were allowed to attack.

So the left wing of (the army of) Alp-Qush, amongst which was also Mas'ūd al-Bilālī, attacked the right wing of (the army of) al-Muqtafī li amr Allāh and they routed the (army of al-Muqtafī). Muhalhil was also among them; he fled and his flight ended at Baghdad. Then the right wing of the imām al-Muqtafī li amr Allāh attacked the left wing of Alp-Qush, among which were the Turcoman amīrs. They (the Turcomans) were obliged to fly away from them and they (the soldiers of al-Muqtafī) took many captives and caused much slaughter among them.

T.p.133 Mengü-Bars kept clung to the bit of the mule of the imām al-Muqtafī li amr Allāh. (f.74a) Then the centre of (the army of) Alp-Qush attacked the centre of (the army of) the commander of the Faithful al-Muqtafī li amr Allāh. But a party of them (Alp-Qush's army) defected from them and joined the imām al-Muqtafī. The soldiers of the

centre (of the army) of Alp-Qush scattered when they found out about the sudden swift dash of those who had run away in front of them. They fell on the rich treasury (of al-Muqtafī) and started plundering it. Thus the centre of Alp-Qush's (army) became empty. So amīr Mengü-Bars and wazīr 'Awn al-Dīn attacked them. Alp-Qush could not stand in front of them and he fled. The army went in his pursuit, killing his soldiers and taking them captive until they had killed and captured many of them. Whenever any of the followers of Alp-Qush who had attacked the treasury learnt (about the defeat) he left whatever plunder had come into his hands and escaped. So some of them managed to escape whilst others were killed. The army of the commander of the Faithful acquired countless and inestimable booty of all kinds and al-Muqtafī returned to Baghdad supported, victorious, triumphant and jubilant. Iraq was freed from the wickedness of the atrocities of Mas'ūd al-Bilālī and the Turcomans. This incident took place in the year 550.²²⁴

When Alp-Qush fled, malik Arslan-Shāh b. sultan Toghrīl b. Muḥammad Tapar b. Malik-Shāh b. Alp-Arslan b. Dā'ūd b. Mīkā'īl b. Saljūq was taken to Āzārbā'ījān to amīr Shams al-Dīn Eldigūz. The mother of malik Arslan-Shāh was the wife of amīr Shams al-Dīn Eldigūz and he had two sons from her - one was Muḥammad amīr Nuṣrat al-Dīn atabeg Pahlawān

and the other was 'Uthmān Muẓaffar al-Dīn Qīzīl-Arslan. (f.74b) His daughter was married to the lord of Marāgha. Malik Arslan-Shāh came under the custody of amīr Shams al-Dīn Eldigüz.

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When the year 552 came, sultan Muḥammad intended to go towards Baghdad. He had with him the army of Iraq and Āzarbā Ījān, except for amīr Shams al-Dīn Eldigüz, who stayed in Āzarbā Ījān fighting against the Georgians and amīr Īnanch who stayed at Rayy out of fear of the Ghuzz, as they had reached Jurjān (Gurgān).²²⁵

The imām al-Muqtafī li amr Allāh prepared to face the siege. So he brought into Baghdad provisions, fodder and sheep and cows which could sustain him and those soldiers who were with him. He spent money generously and troops gathered round him from all directions. An army was formed, the like of which had never been seen assembled before at Baghdad.

Sultan Muḥammad also reached Baghdad and encamped by the side of the bāb al-shammāsiyya.²²⁶ He waited for some time, not commanding (his soldiers) to start fighting. (During this time) he wrote to the imām al-Muqtafī li amr Allāh that he was an obedient servant, that by coming to Baghdad his only intention was to leave it (the city), that the maliks of the outlying regions knew that the commander of the Faithful was satisfied with him,

that he should be given the title of the "amīr with whom (the caliph) is pleased"²²⁷ and that his name should be mentioned from the pulpits after the name of the commander of the Faithful. Then he would leave Baghdad and would have no wālī or deputy there to advise him (the commander of the Faithful). Sultan Muḥammad made every conceivable effort to resolve the conflict for himself without blood-shed. But they did not reply to his communications in a way which pleased him nor did they create an atmosphere which might satisfy him except that (f.75a) they said to him: "You should return to Hamadān and stay there until we have given thought to your affairs."

Every day some amīrs would come out of Baghdad and they would stand facing the army of the sultan. Then they would chase each other and some of them would attack the others. (During the course of this) sometimes they would kill some of the others or inflict wounds upon them. This (state of affairs) lasted for two months. The sultan kept counselling his amīrs to make a firm decision about fighting, but they could not reach any decision about the war.

Then the sultan corresponded with amīr Zayn al-
T.p.135 Dīn 'Alī Küchük,²²⁸ the lord of the army of Mosul and summoned him to wait on him. He complied with his request and came down to him with a huge army and large numbers of troops consisting of the

notables of the Turks and Kurds (bringing with them) plenty of fodder and war-equipment. He encamped on the western side facing Baghdad.

(During this time) wazīr 'Awn al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. Hubayra secretly corresponded with the amīrs of the sultan and sent them presents, gifts and money pretending to them that such things were given to them from the pensions which were due to be sent to them, but that owing to the difficulties in forwarding these (before), this amount was to be a substitute for that. He advised them that loyalty to the commander of the Faithful was one of the duties of every Muslim in the religion of Islam and that utter obedience to him was incumbent on everyone according to the injunction of the Qur'ān. Disobedience to him would cause the wrath of Allāh, the Almighty and His punishment. (He went on to say that) the truth was manifest and clear and submission to it was a duty, whilst falsehood had died and been repelled (f.75b) and to refrain from it was an obligation. He said (to them): "You are the helpers of the sultan and his amīrs and therefore you are the most worthy of those who should give him a sincere piece of advice. You have seen what open rebellion he has dared (to show) to the commander of the Faithful in the form of disobedience and what he has insisted on doing in the way of fighting, transgression and enmity to him in Baghdad. (Even

though) it is the residence of the caliph and the seat of the holy imāms of the family of the prophet of Allāh, upon whom be peace. Moreover, he (the sultan) possesses extensive lands, has a considerable number of mamlūks in his hand and (besides this) he owns plenty of riches. If you give him advice which results in his leaving Baghdad during this campaign until the commander of the Faithful becomes certain of his (the sultan's) sound intention to show obedience, he (the sultan) will achieve his goal and the commander of the Faithful will comply with his wishes. The commander of the Faithful will become extremely pleased with you if you carry out this task and with Allāh, to Whom be praise, you will get a high place. The commander of the Faithful will continue his favours after this and will assist you with his kindness and magnanimity, whether you are near to him or away from him. He (the sultan) will have no further need for any helper or supporter from amongst you when he succeeds in achieving what he wants in the way of capturing Baghdad and Iraq. This will be the last thing which will make him independent of you. Then you will stay with him, being looked upon with the eyes of scorn and you will be bewildered and extremely repentant.²²⁹ You will be deprived of the benedictions of the commander of the Faithful and his never-ceasing beneficence and hardships

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and humiliations will encircle you."²³⁰ These words (of wazīr 'Awn al-Dīn) (f.76a) left an impression on the amīrs, together with benedictions and gifts which were continually passed to them secretly. So whenever the sultan embarked on a course of action which they knew would result in his achieving his aim, they would prevent him from carrying it out in one way or another; outwardly their advice appeared sound but inwardly it was (based) on malice.

When amīr Zayn al-Dīn 'Alī Küchük reached Baghdad and encamped on the western side of it, the sultan crossed the river (and came) to him along with a group of his close associates and declared war on Baghdad from both the sides (which continued every day until sunset. (However) during all this Allāh supported the soldiers of the commander of the Faithful by His protection and defended them by His guard.

The amīrs of al-Ḥilla who belonged to Banū Asad had rounded up a considerable number of the bands of the foot-soldiers and rabble of the town and made for Baghdad to wait on the sultan with plenty of provisions and ships, the number of which exceeded 500. Their commander was amīr 'Alī b. Dubays. He had with him a man who belonged to the tribe of his uncle and was one of his relatives, whose name was Ḥasan al-Muṭrib. They had with them

an astrologer. One day when they were discussing the state of the fighting of war and were seeking advice on the tactics of war and battle, the astrologer said to amīr Ḥasan al-Muṭrib: "I can see in your star that when you engage in fighting tomorrow, you will enter Baghdad. So if you have an intention to fight and a desire for battle and combat, then you should carry it out tomorrow."

T.p.137 (Hearing this prophesy) he got ready to equip his men and mobilise his stalwarts at night. He got up early the next morning and a group of the notables and leading figures (f.76b) of the followers of the sultan stepped into the ships in a great number with plenty of provisions. In Baghdad the news had spread over night that the party (of the sultan) was fully prepared (for fighting) and had made every effort and utmost endeavour to conduct open war and hostility. Wazīr 'Awn al-Dīn Yahya b. Hubayra remained on the bank of the river Tigris that night arranging the affairs of the ships and equipping them with provisions, fighters, flame-throwers, men with crossbows (jarūkh, charūkh)²³¹ and stone-throwing machines (arrādāt) which were installed there before sunrise.

When the people of Baghdad saw that the ships of the enemy had moved, seeking to cross the river (towards Baghdad), they also pushed their ships

(into the river) and they met each other in the Tigris. They tied the ships together, then fighting broke out and war and battle became fierce between them from sun-rise to sun-set. The fight ended in the Tigris on the decks of the ships with a great number of the people of al-Ḥilla and the soldiers of the sultan killed. Ḥasan al-Muṭrib was taken captive and a group of his well-known associates was (also) captured. They had fought a fierce battle beside him. The people dispersed after most of their ships had been seized. They plunged into the Tigris seeking to escape; some of them managed to escape while others were drowned. Amīr Ḥasan al-Muṭrib was brought before wazīr 'Awn al-Dīn, who informed the commander of the Faithful, al-Muqtafī li amr Allāh, about his being taken captive. He gave orders that he should be crucified on the mast of a ship facing the army of the sultan and the order was carried out after he had been mutilated. After this the war ceased for many days.

Amīr Badr al-Dīn Muẓaffar²³² b. Ḥammād b.

Abi'l-Jabr,²³³ the lord of Gharrāf and the regions of al-Baṭīḥa who sent a certain number of soldiers and a certain amount of tax every year, asked the

T.p.138 imām al-Muqtafī li amr Allāh to rescind the levy which he took to him every year. He argued that the pension which was given to his soldiers was not sufficient for them and that if magnanimity

was shown with regard to the levy, it would be a contributory factor in removing their hardships and in strengthening them in their fight against their enemies. But wazīr 'Awn al-Dīn Yahyā b. Hubayra prevented him (the caliph) from doing that and told him that it was not a suitable time for showing magnanimity. So Badr b. Muẓaffar waited until the sultan reached Baghdad. He (Badr) approached him, made the same request that he had made to the dīwān (of al-Muqtafī) and told him (the sultan) that he was coming to wait on him. So the sultan showed magnanimity with regard to the levy. He also added to (his territories) some more areas which were situated close to his domain. The sultan wrote an official letter (tawqī') confirming this and sent it to him giving him strong promises and assurances. So amīr Badr b. Muẓaffar got ready and raised a considerable number of the tribes of Gharrāf and of the lands of al-Baṭīḥa. He collected ships from all over the lands of Iraq and levied well-ordered ships and a certain number of men on each town of Gharrāf and Wāsiṭ and its outlying regions. He also gave them a delay of some days after which he arranged that they were to gather at Wāsiṭ. So the leaders of all the territories gathered at Wāsiṭ along with ships (f.77b) and plenty of provisions. Amīr Badr (b. Muẓaffar) b. Hammād also joined them and all of them gathered at Wāsiṭ. When the news

(of their alliance) reached the commander of the Faithful al-Muqtafī, it caused him disquiet, and saddened, worried and weakened him. So he wrote to amīr Badr b. Muẓaffar: "I will reduce for you whatever kharāj has been imposed on you and I will increase what has been granted to you. But you should stay in your domains and should neither come to us nor join the enemy." The reply from him (Badr) was the reply of one who is devoid of his senses and has lost his wits, "I am not willing to accept this until you hand over wazīr 'Awn al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. Hubayra to me in order that I may put his affairs in order, rectify the disaster (caused) by him and remove the stigma of his (being a wazīr) and the harm (done) by him."

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The caliph sent messages to the amīrs of the sultan secretly and sent them bags of money saying to them: "To avert this state of affairs is easy for you. You should tell the sultan that Badr b. Muẓaffar is a man who has grown up in the service of the commander of the Faithful and has been brought up in his beneficence. (Moreover) he is an Arab. (Therefore) we suspect that there could be between him and the commander of the Faithful a secret understanding, namely that he might be pretending to come to join us, but that when he does come and faces Baghdad, he might enter it. It would be wise to ask him to come to us by way

of the Şarşar canal²³⁴ and join us. When he joins us we will be safe from the danger of his entering Baghdad. The sole aim is that he should enter by way of the Şarşar canal." So the amīrs came to the sultan and advised him to act in this way. They explained to him the implications of the hidden consequences. They sent (f.78a) a messenger to him (Badr) on behalf of the sultan who met him at Darzījān²³⁵ and commanded him on behalf of the sultan to join (the sultan) by way of the Şarşar canal. (On hearing this) he stood up from his place and said in reply (to the messenger of the sultan): "If I have to join him by way of the Şarşar canal, you will not benefit from me and my joining the sultan will result in nothing. (In this case) I will not be able to achieve what I want in fighting Baghdad and all the ships I have prepared will be of no avail." They then sent the messenger (once again) to him and said that there was no other alternative for him but to join the sultan by way of the Şarşar canal. They became suspicious of him because of what he had said. The amīrs kept trying to convince the sultan until he made Badr b. Muẓaffar come to join him by way of the Şarşar canal. When his men moved from this place, those in Baghdad became safe from their attack and devoted themselves to fighting against them. Then they corresponded from Baghdad with

T.p.140 amīr Shams al-Dīn Eldigūz to Āzarbā Ījān and enticed him (by saying) that they would declare malik Arslan-Shāh b. sultan Toghrīl sultan as soon as he came from Āzarbā Ījān to Iraq. Malik Arslan-Shāh was the son of the wife of amīr Shams al-Dīn Eldigūz, the atabeg. His own sons from her were amīr Nuṣrat al-Dīn Muḥammad Pahlawān and amīr Muḥaffar al-Dīn ‘Uthmān Qizīl-Arslan. They sent word to amīr Īnanch to Iraq (i.e. al-Jibāl) and lured him with iqtā’s which they would grant him in the outlying regions of Iraq. (On the other hand) the amīrs of the sultan withdrew from the fight when they realised that a considerable period had elapsed and there was no chance left for them to capture Baghdad. Every one of them wanted to return to his family and home.

When amīr (f.78b) Shams al-Dīn Eldigūz, the atabeg, advanced from Āzarbā Ījān in the direction of Iraq and amīr Īnanch advanced intending to seize Hamadān, the sultan heard of this news, while he was at Baghdad. He consulted his amīrs concerning the news which had reached him. All the amīrs suggested that they should withdraw from Baghdad towards Hamadān and stay there until they had dealt with atabeg Shams al-Dīn Eldigūz and amīr Īnanch. Then they would return to Baghdad.²³⁶ So they withdrew from both sides of Baghdad, the army of Mosul from the western side and the army of Iraq from the eastern one. They failed to carry their baggage

with them. So they (the people of Baghdad) brought them to Baghdad and a great deal of their baggage was acquired as booty.²³⁷ After this event the hopes of the Saljūq sultans (of ruling) Baghdad came to an end.

Sultan Muḥammad reached Hamadān and prepared to go towards Āzarbā'ījān.²³⁸ Malik Sulaymān-Shāh b. sultan Muḥammad Tapar, the brother of sultan Mas'ūd was also in Āzarbā'ījān. He left that area and made for Baghdad²³⁹ where they gave him the title of Malik al-Mustajīr and equipped him with all the troops of Baghdad. So sultan Malik al-Mustajīr Sulaymān-Shāh b. Muḥammad b. Malik-Shāh b. Alp-Arslan came out of Baghdad towards Āzarbā'ījān. Atabeg Shams al-Dīn Eldigūz and the army of Āzarbā'ījān²⁴¹ and that of Arrān also effected a coalition with him. (On the other hand) sultan Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad Tapar b. Malik-Shāh b. Alp-Arslan marched from Hamadān, after he had made peace with amīr Īnanch,²⁴² assigned him the authority (f.79a) over Rayy and summoned him to wait on him. So he (Īnanch) set out with him to Āzarbā'ījān and both the armies faced each other in the valley of the Araxes, near Nakhchiwān. Both the armies advanced towards each other and engaged in a fierce battle till the blades of their swords were broken and the horizons were red because of the dashing together of the waves of the blood that had been shed. Swords passed through

bodies and spears through the chests of the brave warriors (of both armies), as al-Tanūkhī says:

"In a place where death stood and
did not turn away from its field,
while the eyes wandered.
Spear upon spear caused the stream
of blood to flow. The longer they
(spears) were, the shorter lives
became.
The heads of heroic warriors flew
in the air from the swords like a
vortex of dust.²⁴³

The war flared up because of the blows of sharp swords and the field flamed because of the trampling of hooves (of the horses). There were swords which poured onto the soldiers and hands could not prevent them and there were spears which were thirsty for livers and hands were unable to repel them. It was as if it (the war) had guaranteed food for the vultures and eagles or as if it had undertook to feed the hyenas and wolves. They kept on fighting until the battlefield was filled with corpses and the chains fell short²⁴⁴ of the number of captives. Sultan Muḥammad and his followers resolved to be steadfast and have patience. Their intentions and determination showed signs of victory. It rarely happens that a man who endures the bitterness of hardships with patience does not achieve the
T.p.142 desired reward. (f.79b) So Allāh bestowed upon

him His help²⁴⁵ because of what He saw of his steadfastness and patience. Atabeg Shams al-Dīn Eldigüz and all the soldiers who were with him fled having been defeated. They were scattered to the four winds in the deserts in a confused state. Sultan Muḥammad acquired from them plenty of booty, costly loads and considerable riches.²⁴⁶ He stayed in Nakhchiwān for some time.

(After this battle) the Georgians sent him (the sultan) a message and asked him for peace. So he made peace with them on the conditions they desired.

He (the sultan) stayed at Arrān until atabeg Shams al-Dīn Eldigüz sent him a message and said (to him): "I am your subject and a mamlūk of this house. Your uncle malik Sulaymān-Shāh came to me before the arrival of your victorious banners. So I protected him from humiliation because of the fear of shame and lest people should say that I betrayed Sulaymān-Shāh, who is the son of my master sultan Mas'ūd, may Allāh cover him with His forgiveness. But now when it is manifest that there is only one sultan and the lands have laid their reins in his hands, I am the first to render obedience, join (your) party and follow the consensus." So he (the sultan) accepted his excuse and assigned him the management of Arrān, after taking from him promises and undertakings that he would not join his enemy, would support him and would not desert him. So he gave his word on these.

He (the sultan) assigned Āzarbā Ījān to Arslan b. Aq-Sonqur al-Aḥmadīlī,²⁴⁷ the lord of Marāgha and then returned to Hamadān victorious and triumphant. He stayed there intending to return (f.80a) to Baghdad.²⁴⁸

As for sultan Sulaymān-Shāh, he fled from the battlefield and intended to go to Baghdad to wait on the commander of the Faithful, al-Muqtafī li amr Allāh. But amīr Zayn al-Dīn 'Alī Küchük, the commander of the army of Mosul, appeared before him in the pass of Qarābulī and caught him, took him to Mosul and confined him in its citadel. He (Küchük) then wrote to sultan Muḥammad about this, who gave orders to him (Küchük) that he should provide him with comforts and keep him in his custody until (another) command came to him from him (the sultan).²⁴⁹

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Sultan Muḥammad stayed waiting for the approach of spring before marching towards Baghdad. But he fell ill and his illness became serious and lasted a long time with him. He died in Hamadān in the year 553.²⁵⁰ His reign lasted for nine years.

Sultan Muḥammad was a just ruler, a man of sound character and extremely kind. It was not known whether he had any children.²⁵¹ When the news of his death reached the commander of the Faithful, al-Muqtafī li amr Allāh, he said: "May the mercy of Allāh be on (sultan) Muḥammad. Undoubtedly he

was a wise enemy."

(After the death of sultan Muḥammad) the amīrs of Iraq were obliged to send a message to Mosul and ask amīr Zayn al-Dīn 'Alī Küchük to send malik Sulaymān-Shāh to them. So he escorted him out of Mosul, carried the saddle-cloth (ghāshiya) in front of him and provided him with money, equipment, marked horses, well-fed mules, tents and ghulāms in a large quantity, whose detailed account would be (too) long. He equipped a group of the amīrs of Mosul, made Ṣārim al-Dīn the wālī of the citadel of Mosul commander over them and sent them with him (f.80b) to Hamadān.

When he (Sulaymān-Shāh) approached Hamadān, the amīrs came out according to their ranks. They received him, walked in front of him, laid the reins of their affairs in his hands, made him mount the throne of the kingdom, lined up before him and all of them pledged their allegiance to him.²⁵² So he stayed in Hamadān. But then the amīrs began to disagree with each other and some of them intended to kill the others. Each of them desired to be ruler and wanted the management of the affairs (of the kingdom) to be entrusted to him. Among the amīrs, the most powerful, the highest in regard to prestige, and the most far-sighted about the sequence of events and the political affairs of the people, was amīr Sharaf al-Dīn Gird-Bāzū, the khādim. There

was amity and intimate friendship between him and atabeg Shams al-Dīn Eldigüz.

T.p.144 Khwāja Tāshiyā knew that they were both the mamluks of sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Mas'ūd. So he sent a message to him (Shams al-Dīn Eldigüz) to Azarbā'ījān and caused him to advance after having enticed him by (assuring him) that he would depose sultan Sulaymān-Shāh b. Muḥammad Tapar and would make sultan Arslan-Shāh b. Toghrīl b. Muḥammad b. Malīk-Shāh b. Alp-Arslan come to the throne. He swore to him and made a promise with him about this.

Atabeg Shams al-Dīn Eldigüz marched from Āzarbā'ījān having taken with him sultan Arslan-Shāh b. Toghrīl and having provided him with more horses, weapons, equipment and money than he needed. He (Eldigüz) became his atabeg while his son Nuṣrat al-Dīn Pahlawān became the chief ḥājib and another son of his Muẓaffar al-Dīn Qizīl-Arslan became amīr salāḥ. He entrusted (f.81a) the different posts of the sultanate to every one of his amīrs and then set out towards Hamadān.

When the amīrs came to know that Shams al-Dīn Eldigüz was approaching Hamadān, they were certain that he had not desired that without the consent of some amongst them.

Then amīr Sharaf al-Dīn Gird-Bāzū, the khādim, made known his withdrawal from the service of sultan Sulaymān-Shāh and the majority of the amīrs joined

him. The rest of the prominent amīrs dispersed. So Ibn al-bāzdār fled to his own territories, amīr Īnanch to Rayy, amīr Sutmaz b. Qaymaz al-Ḥarāmī to Qum and Aqush to Ardabīl.²⁵³ Sultan Sulaymān-Shāh remained in Hamadān with his close associates and ghulāms.

Then amīr Sharaf al-Dīn Gird-Bāzū, the khādim, mounted (his horse) pretending that he was going to make obeisance to sultan Sulaymān-Shāh. He came in to him and tied him up till night time. He left the bowstring round his neck, with which he had strangled him. The next morning sultan Sulaymān-Shāh was found dead.

(By that time) amīr Shams al-Dīn Eldigüz had reached Hamadān. So amīr Sharaf al-Dīn Gird-Bāzū, the khādim, came out and received him. (Gird-Bāzū had) with him all the amīrs and the soldiers who had stayed with him (in Hamadān). It was a memorable day.

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When they reached the gate of the new palace, amīr Shams al-Dīn Eldigüz, amīr Sharaf al-Dīn Gird-Bāzū, the khādim and all the amīrs of Iraq and Arrān dismounted and walked in front of sultan Arslan-Shāh b. Toghrīl. Then they entered Hamadān and installed him as sultan on the throne.²⁵⁴

NOTES

1. He was only four years old. IA, X, 145.
2. She was the daughter of the Qarakhānid Ibrāhīm Tamghach Khān (444-60/1052-68). She was married to sultan Malik-Shāh in 456/1064. She died in 487/1094. (See the text below, 75). IA, IX, 211-12, X, 28, 142, 145, 163; Munt, IX, 84.
3. A legendary king of the Turanians. See EI^{II}, art. Afrāsiyāb, Stern.
4. See also IA, X, 155, 157; Munt, IX, 84-5.
5. For these events see also Nish, 35-6; Bun, 82-3; Raw, 139-42; IA, X, 145-46. For a general survey of the reign of Maḥmūd, see M.F. Sanauallah, The Decline of the Saljūqid Empire, (Calcutta, 1938), 82-90.
6. A Turkish word which means "father - lord" and denotes "a patron", "tutor", and "guardian". It was a prestigious title conferred generally upon Turkish amīrs.

The institution of the atabeg originated during the great Saljūq period. Turkish amīrs were appointed atabegs to minor Saljūq maliks and sent with them to their administrative territories. The ostensible responsibility of the atabeg was to look after the affairs of his protégé's domain, but the sultan also expected the atabeg to keep his protégé (i.e. the Saljūq

malik) under his control and to maintain his loyalties to the sultan. For further details see A.K.S. Lambton, "The Internal Structure of the Saljūq Empire" in Cambridge History of Iran, ed. J.A. Boyle, (Cambridge, 1968), V, 111-12; eadem, Contribution to the Study of Seljūq Institution, (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, London, 1939), 190-208; C. Klausner, The Seljuk Vezirate: A Study of Civil Administration, (Cambridge, Mass., 1973), 20-1, 84-7; Sanauallah, op. cit., 5-7; EI^{II}, art. Atābak, Cahen.

7. The term was generally used for commander in chief of the army and was synonymous with titles like sū-bashī and muqaddam al-jaysh. Lambton, "The Administration of Sanjar's Empire as Illustrated in the 'Atabat al-kataba', BSOAS, XX (1957), 369, reproduced in eadem, Theory and Practice in Medieval Persian Government, (London, 1980), XI; EI^{II}, art. Ispahsālār, Sipahsālār, Bosworth.
8. See Bun, 84-5.
9. Nish, 36; Bun, 84-5; Raw, 142-43; IA, X, 166-67.
10. Mujmal al-tawārīkh wa'l-qīṣaṣ, 409, has "Dasht Māwa" which Hamdānī wants to read as "Dasht Sāwa" a place between Sāwa and Rayy (see p. 149). See also Bun, 85, as the editor suggests who too has Dāshīlū.

11. The text has: وترك الی وفارقها
وخرج عنها -

Lit. departed from it and came out of it.

12. This took place in 492/1098. IA, X, 195. See also Bun, 87. For further continuation see the text, p. 87.
13. This battle and the murder of Mu'ayyid al-Mulk took place in 494/1100. See IA, X, 205-7; Munt, IX, 129; Bun, 260; cf. Nish, 38 and Raw, 147-48 who note that the wazīr was taken captive in the battle and sultan Berk-Yaruq agreed even to appoint him his wazīr on payment of a certain amount. But then the sultan changed his mind and beheaded him.
14. For details of these battles see the text, 84-8.
15. A district between Hamadān and Nihāwand to the south of Alwand (Arwand) mountain in the province of al-Jibāl. It had two towns called Sirkān and Tuwī, which still exist. Ist, 197; Haw, 258-59; Hud, 141; Yaq, II, 832; Fida, 410; Must, 73; LEC, 197; EI^I, art. Rūdhrāwar, Honigmann.
16. This was in 495/1102. IA, X, 224-27. See also

Bun, 261; Munt, IX, 131.

17. He is Mawdūd b. Ṭsmā'īl b. Yāqūtī b. Dā'ūd Chaghri Beg b. Mīkā'īl b. Saljūq. Bun, 16, 261; IA, X, 152, 207, 248.

18. Once the capital of Armenia and now a small village lying to the south of Eriwān near the river Araxes. Ist, 188; Haw, 244; Hud, 159; Muq, 374, 377; Yaq, II, 548-49; Fida, 399; LEC, 182; EI^{II}, art. Dwīn, Canard.

19. A river between Zanjān and Ardabīl which separated the province of Āzarbā ījān from the province of al-Jibāl. It rose in the highlands of Kurdistān and flowed into the waters of the Caspian sea in the province of Gīlān at a place called Kawtām. Ist, 189; Haw, 246-47; Hud, 49, 149; Must, 217; LEC, 169-70.

20. This seems more or less a revival of the previous settlement which had been made between them a year earlier at Rūdhrawar. IA, X, 226; also see the text above, 77.

21. For these events see also Bun, 261; Munt, IX, 133-34; IA, X, 227-29, 248-49. Bun and IA note that the last battle between the two brothers took place at Khūy. The two places were not, however, too far from each other. Moreover IA says that

Mawdūd b. Ismā'īl was the lord of "some parts of Āzarbā ījān". It seems appropriate to suggest that he had under his authority the border regions of both the provinces: Arrān and Āzarbā ījān.

22. A town in the district of Lūristān in al-Jibāl to the south of Hamadān. Ist, 197, 199; Haw, 259, 262; Hud, 141; Yaq, I, 596; Fida, 419; Must, 70; LEC, 200; EI^{II}, art. Burūdjird, Lockhart.
23. Cf. Nish, 39; Bun, 89-90, 261; Munt, IX, 141; IA, X, 260. For a general survey and the sequence and background of the events during the reign of sultan Berk-Yaruq see Sanaullah, op. cit., 93-113; Iranian World, 102-11.
24. He is Sulaymān b. Dā'ūd b. Tamghach Khān Ibrāhīm (490/1097). Bun, 258; Iranian World, 138-39; Dynasties, 111.
25. He is probably Maḥmūd Khān b. Naṣr b. Ibrāhīm Tamghach Khān (490/1097). IA, IX, 213; Turkestan, 318, n.4; Dynasties, 111.
26. See note on the khāqān of Kāshghar, text, p. 66.
27. A native of Maybudh (Fārs) who had worked as wazīr for Berk-Yaruq b. Malik-Shāh during the years 495-98/1101-4 and for his brother Muḥammad between 494-95/1100-1 and then during 504-11/1110-17. Muḥammad then demoted him to the post of a mustawfī. Because

he was an incompetent official he was afterwards transferred from the central government to the province of Fārs as wazīr to Saljūq-Shāh b.

Muḥammad, where he died in 515/1121. Bun, 96-7, 119, 125; IA, X, 210, 230-31, 339, 419; 'Abbās, 105, 121, 123, 151-53, 266.

28. For details of these events cf. Munt, IX, 141-43; IA, X, 262, 264-67.

29. A citadel near Iṣfahān built on the summit of a mountain. Yaq, III, 246; LEC, 205.

30. For 'Abd al-Malik b. Aṭṭāsh, see EI^{II}, art. Ibn 'Aṭṭāsh, Lewis.

31. A district round Iṣfahān in al-Jibāl on the right bank of the Zanda Rūd at a distance of seven farsakhs from Iṣfahān. Ist, 133; Haw, 201, 260; Hud, 140; Yaq, II, 394; Fida, 410; LEC, 206.

32. See also Nish, 39, 40-2; Bun, 90-1; Munt, IX, 150-51; Raw, 153, 155-57; IA, X, 299-302. Nish., Raw., and IA. give a fairly detailed account of the activities of the Baṭinīs during this period. For a general survey see M.G.S. Hodgson, The Order of Assassins, (New York, 1980), 95-8. For a continuation see the text, 82.

33. Not to be confused with Shīrgīr, the atabeg of Toghrīl b. Muḥammad (text, 98, 100, 104).

34. He is Fakhr al-Dīn Sayf al-Dawla Abu'l-Ḥasan Ṣadaqa I al-Nashīrī al-Asadī b. Manṣūr, the Mazyadid lord of al-Ḥilla (479-501/1086-1108).
IK, I, 634-35; Dynasties, 51.

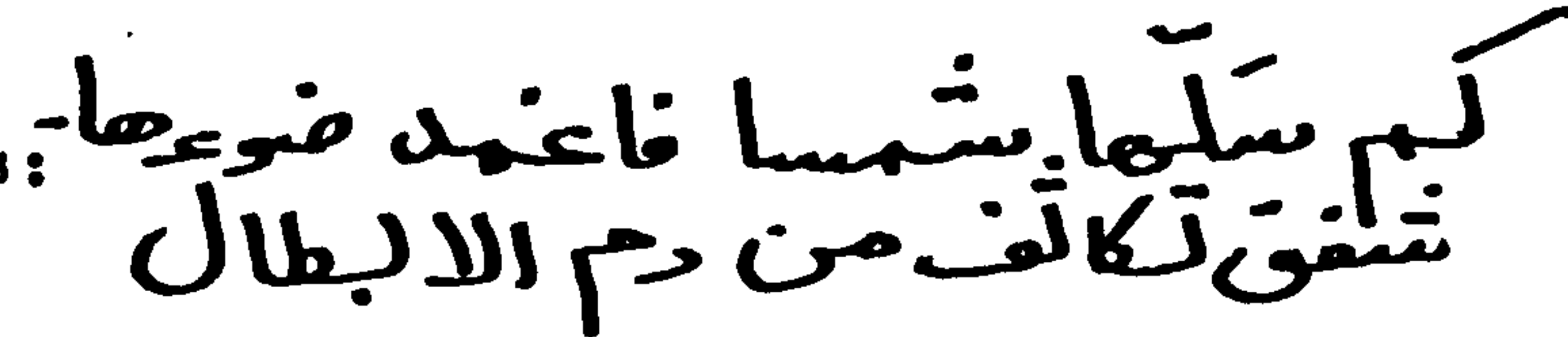
35. A town on the Tigris between Baghdad and Wāsiṭ.
Ist, 87; Haw, 168; Must, 122; Hud, 151;
Yaq, IV, 796; Fida, 305; Must, 46; LEC, 37.

36. A town between Kūfa and Baghdad lying on the banks of the river Euphrates. The place where the town was built was previously called al-Jāmi'ayn.
Yaq, II, 322; Must, 40; Fida, 299; LEC, 71;
EI^{II}, art. al-Ḥilla, Lassner.

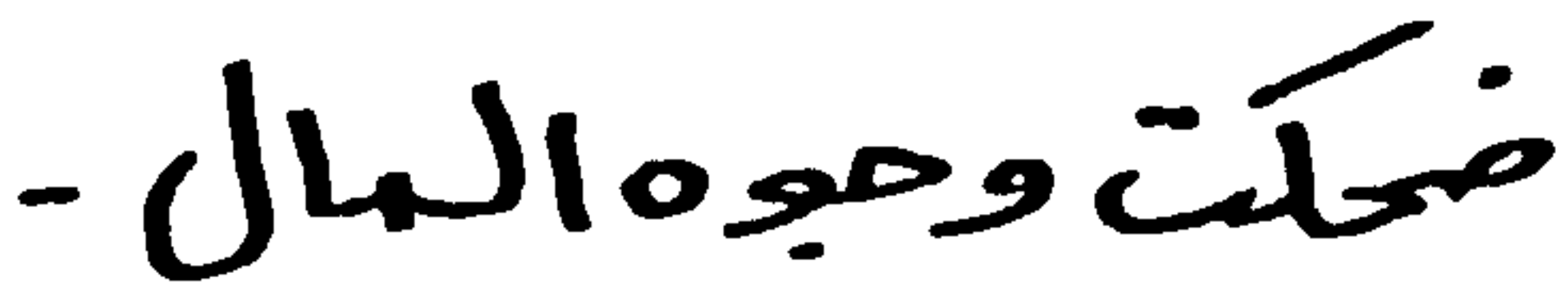
37. He is amīr Sharaf al-Dīn Mawdūd b. Altun-Tegin, the commander of sultan Muḥammad b. Malik-Shāh. He took Mosul in 502/1108 and became its lord. He was assassinated by a Bāṭinī in 507/1114 at Damascus (text, 106). IA, X, 291, 347-48;
Ibn al-Qalānīsī, The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades, tr. H.A.R. Gibb, (London, 1932), 89, 90, 107, 114, 140-41. For further details of his role see H.S. Fink, "Mawdūd of Mosul, precursor of Saladin", The Muslim World, XLIII (1953), 18-27.

38. See Nish, 39; Bun, 102; Munt, IX, 156-57; Raw, 158; IA, X, 276-77, 305-14. Nish and Raw make a very swift mention of the death of Ṣadaqa at the hand of the sultan and seem to have confused

the event with the death of atabeg Ayaz; although there was a gap of three years between these two murders. IA gives quite a full account of the events and mentions that Ṣadaqa was a vassal of the sultan and read the khutba in his name. The sultan had assigned to him Baṣra and Wāsiṭ, besides al-Ḥilla. But Ṣadaqa wanted to become a wholly independent ruler and gave shelter to some of the opponents of the sultan. This caused open hostility between them and hence the battle.

39. The text has: 

The translation is a tentative one.

40. The text has: 
Lit. The faces of money.....

41. He is Fakhr al-Dawla Chawli Saqao, the amīr and commander of sultan Berk-Yaruq and then of Muḥammad b. Malik-Shāh, who later worked as the lord of Fārs (498-500/1104-06) and then of Mosul (500-02/1106-08) and then once again of Fārs (502-10/1109-17) where he had malik Chaghri b. sultan Muḥammad under his custody. He died in 510/1117. IA, X, 202, 291, 297-98, 361-62; Iranian World, 116-17.

42. IA, X, 335, places this event in 503/1109, but does not mention amīr Chawli Saqao. Hodgson suggests that perhaps there were two expeditions.

But if we are to believe IA 's account of the activities of Chawlī Saqao during 500-2/1106-8, then it seems unlikely that he participated in the first expedition, i.e. that of 501/1107-8. During this period he seems to have been pre-occupied with the struggle for Mosul and his relationship with sultan Muḥammad was at a low ebb. It was only in 502/1108 that he returned to the entourage of the sultan. In view of this, the event to which a swift reference is made here in the text, with all probability seems to be to the second campaign, i.e. that of 503/1109. See IA, X, 293-98, 317, 319-27. Cf. Hodgson, op. cit., 97, n. 42.

43. See also Munt, IX, 159, 165-66; IA, X, 339. Munt. says that she was married to the caliph in 502/1108, but was sent to Baghdad in 504/1110.
44. This expedition was launched in 511/1118, a little before the death of the sultan. Nish, 42; Bun, 117; IA, X, 369-70. Cf. n. 115 below.
45. Cf. Nish, 43; Bun, 118; IA, X, 367-68.
46. First mustawfī and then wazīr to sultan Muḥammad b. Malik-Shāh. He was killed in 500/1106. Bun, 91-2; Munt, X, 150; IA, X, 304; 'Abbās, 156, 159.

47. He is 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Alī al-Khaṭībī, the ra'īs and qādī of Iṣfahān. He was assassinated by a Bāṭinī in 502/1108 at Hamadān. Bun, 91; IA, X, 331; 'Abbās, 159.
48. See the text, 78-9 and n. 27 above.
49. During the Ghaznawid period, as is also evident from a number of references in the text, this title was used for the commander of the army (hence amīr al-ḥājib or ḥājib buzurg, commander-in-chief).

During the Saljūq period, however, the function of the ḥājibs was, as in the Umayyad and 'Abbāsid courts, concerned with court ceremonies and the administration of the private apartments and palace of the sultan or malik. Occasionally, however, the amīr al-ḥājib would lead the army in war.

The amīr al-ḥājib assisted by a number of ḥājibs provided a link between the sultan and wazīrs and other administrative officials and conveyed to them the orders and decisions of the sultan.

The nature of his function provided him with direct access to the sultan's ear and that is why ḥājibs played a key role in events during the reigns of various Saljūq sultans. See Bayh, 443, 446, 551, and passim; Bun, 93, 94, 117, 192; IA, X, 386-87; Lambton, "Internal Structure of the Saljūq Empire" in op. cit., 226; Luther, 14; Klausner, op. cit., 18; EI^{II} art. Ḥādjib, Bosworth, Lambton.

50. He was first wazīr (507/1113) to caliph al-Mustazhir, then (511-12/1117-18) to sultan Muḥammad b. Malīk-Shāh and afterwards (512/118) to his son sultan Maḥmūd. He died in 513/1119 at Hamadān. Bun, 115, 119, 126; IA, X, 349, 373, 387, 394; 'Abbās, 172.
51. For these events see the text, 88-90, 96.
52. Such seems to be the sense of the phrase (وَلِيَّ بَسَاطِعِهِ). Cf. IK, III, 230. Lit. He treaded on, walked over the carpet of his uncle. Cf. also the text, 93. For the relations between Maḥmūd and sultan Sanjar see the text below, 88-9.
53. This seems to be an appropriate translation in the light of the clear version of Bun, 256, and IA, X, 178. Lambton suggests that here it seems that the iqtā'-holder was allowed to reap the profits from tax-farming in the iqtā' to the value of this amount. See her Contribution to the Study of Seljūq Institutions, 221.
54. The term shahna was used for a military governor who was responsible for the maintenance of law and order and public security. Moreover, it was his duty to implement the official orders. The officials sent to important tribes were also called shahnas.

It is evident from the text (p.4) that this

post existed during the Ghaznawid period. However, under the Saljūqs it became a very important post. Particularly the shahna at Baghdad had a great political significance, as he was not only a military governor but he had also to represent the sultan in the latter's absence in official dealings with the caliph.

Although the main duties of the shahna were involved with public security, the shahna at Baghdad had also the delicate duty of keeping an eye on the caliph and his officials. Certain taxes seem to have been levied for shahnas, probably to meet the expenses of his dīwān.

As the shahnas used their power on behalf of the sultan, they sometimes became high-handed towards the caliph and created new methods for the imposition of their own authority. For instance, in 471/1078, Gawhar-Ā'īn (see text, 51) started the beating of drums at the gate of his residence at the time of the five prayers. Mu'ayyid al-Mulk b. Nizām al-Mulk is also related to have used the same arrangement for himself in 475/1082, but at the time of only three prayers daily.

In the latter period the shahnas became so powerful that instead of maintaining law and order they themselves violated the law and not only they, but their men also committed offences and oppressed the people.

In 487/1094 Ay-Tegin, the shahna at Baghdad is related to have burnt bāb al-Baṣra simply because the people of Baghdad had shown a hostile reaction against his hājib. In 495/1101 the men of the shahna Il-Ghāzī killed a boatman on the bank of the river Tigris. In 512/1118-19 a soldier of the shahna Mengü-Bars is said to have raped a married lady.

In view of this situation the relations between the shahnas and the caliphs did not remain very cordial and these two authorities could not co-exist amicably. On one occasion in 521/1127 the shahna, Yürün-Qush al-Zakawī, (see text, 102) caused a very serious rupture between the caliph al-Mustarshid and sultan Maḥmūd. He incited the sultan against the caliph so that the latter would try to restore the temporal power of the caliphate. Thereafter the sultan ordered his soldiers to rush on Baghdad. His troops entered Baghdad and plundered the palace and the private living-rooms of the caliph.

Thus, this institution which could have played a great role in the preservation of the authority of the sultan at Baghdad, became a major factor in the decline of good relations between the caliphate and the sultanate. Muntakhab al-Dīn al-Juwaynī, Atabat al-kataba, ed. M. Qazwīnī, A. Iqbāl, (Tehran, 1950), 60-1, 77, 80, 82; Bun, 73; Raw,

177; IA, X, 72 (second pagination), 82-3, 163, 231, 380, 447-48; Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Khāliq al-Mayhanī, Dastūr Dabīrī, ed. A.S. Erzi (Ankara, 1962), 113-14; Lambton, "The Administration of Sanjar's Empire as Illustrated in the 'Atabat al-Kataba', BSOAS, XX (1957), 380-82; eadem, "The Internal Structure of the Saljuq Empire" in op. cit., 213, 244; H. Siddiqī, Caliphate and Kingship in Medieval Persia, (Philadelphia, 1977), 87-8, 91, 94-5. For further details see Lambton, Contribution to the Study of Seljuq Institutions, 275-88.

55. These events took place during 487-88/1094-95. See Nish, 37; Bun, 255-58; Raw, 143; IA, X, 178-80. For a general survey see EI^{II}, art. Arslan-Arghun, Cahen and art. Burī-Bārs, author unknown); Iranian World, 105-6.

56. Cf. IA, X, 178, who says that Arslan-Arghun scolded the slave for his delay in attending on him and beat him. The slave in retaliation then killed him.

57. The capital of the province of Qūmis in Persia on the borders between al-Jibāl and Khurāsān.

In modern times the town lies between Tehran and Mashhad on the main highway. Khur, 244; Ist, 210-11; Haw, 269, 271; Muq, 353-54; Yaq, II, 539; Fida, 437; Must 161; LEC, 364-65;

EI^I, art. Dāmaghān, Huart, EI^{II}, art. Dāmghān, Wilber.

58. A small town in the north-western part of Khurāsān, near Nīshāpūr. Ist, 257; Haw, 313; Yaq, I, 246; Must, 149; LEC, 391; EI^{II}, art. Isfarayīn, Bosworth.

59. The reference here is to Ṭabas Gilakī (Ṭabas al-tamr) to distinguish it from Ṭabas Masīnān (Ṭabas al-'unnāb). It was a place to the south-west of Nīshāpūr in Qūhistān. Ist, 229; Muq, 301; Yaq, III, 514; LEC, 359-60, 362-63; Hodgson, op. cit., 115-16, n. 46.

60. IA, X, 201-2 gives a different account and makes Sanjar an ally of Ḥabashī b. Altun-Taq against sultan Berk-Yaruq. This account seems to be more likely, as our text itself notes (p. 77) that in the struggle between Berk-Yaruq and Muḥammad, Sanjar felt aversion to the former and was more inclined towards the latter.

This battle according to IA took place in 493/1100. See also Bun, 259-60. For a general survey see Hodgson, op. cit., 85-89; Iranian World, 109-110, 137. Ḥabashī held sway over Khurāsān and Ṭabaristān for a period of three years (490-93/1097-1100). IA, X, 181-82, 201-2.

61. The editor notes that Bun, 120, has Shihāb As'ad,

the kātib of inshā' instead of Ismā'īl. He further suggests that the second component of the above name could be al-ṭughrā'ī.

62. The reference here is to the Qarakhānid Muḥammad Arslan Khān b. Sulaymān b. Dā'ūd Bughra Khān (495-524/1102-30). Dynasties, 111. For further details on this personage see also the text, 92, where he has been confused with his son Aḥmad Khān.
63. He is amīr 'Imād al-Dīn Mengü-Bars. For him also see Bun, 125, 172; IA, X, 379-80, 391. The author of our text seems to have confused him with Mengü-Bars, the atabeg of Saljūq-Shāh b. Muḥammad for whom see the text, 104, 109-111.
64. This battle took place at Sāwa. See also Nish, 44-5, 53; Bun, 120-21, 125-29; Raw, 205; IA, X, 385-89, 391 (under the year 513/1119)
65. He is Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Sumayramī a native of Sumayram in Fārs.

He was first a deputy to the wazīr of Gūhar Khatun, the wife of sultan Muḥammad b. Malik-Shāh and later became her wazīr. He then worked as mushrif and mustawfī for the sultan himself.

On the death of the sultan, he became the wazīr to his son Maḥmūd (512/1118) and worked for him until he was killed in 513/1119 at Baghdad. Bun, 110-13, 116, 126, 135; 'Abbās, 181-82.

66. Formerly an independent province of Persia, but now a part of Māzandarān. It is to the south of the Alburz mountains and to the north of the Great Desert (Mafāza), sharing borders with Khurāsān in the east. Ist, 206, 210-11; Haw, 269, 271; Muq, 353-54; Hud, 146; Yaq, IV, 203; Fida, 432; Must, 161; LEC, 7, 364; EI^{II}, art. Kūmis, Bosworth.
67. A district formerly in Ṭabaristān and then in al-Jibāl round the mountain of the same name.
A small town lying to the south-western spurs of the mountain is also called Damāwand.
Yaq, II, 585; Must, 162; Fida, 421; LEC, 371; EI^{II}, art. Damāwand, Streck.
68. See also Bun, 134-35.
69. The reference is to the Āwa of Sāwa, a town which lay to the west of Qum in al-Jibāl at a distance of four farsakhs from Sāwa. Muq, 386; Hud, 142; Yaq, I, 57; Must, 184; Fida, 419; LEC, 211.
70. The reference here is probably to the chief town of the district of Farāhān to the south-east of Hamadān. Must, 69; LEC, 198.
71. The reference here is to a large village which was of the dependency of Kharrāqānayn (two Kharrāqāns) to the north of Hamadān.
Must, 83; LEC, 212.

72. A town in al-Jibāl to the north-west of Tehran and Rayy and to the south of Gīlān and Alburz mountains. Ist, 200; Haw, 263; Hud, 142; Yaq, IV, 88; Fida, 418; Must, 56; LEC, 218; EI^{II}, art. Qazwīn, Lambton.
73. A town in al-Jibāl at a distance of 12 farsakhs to the west of Qazwīn. Khur, 22, 57; Ist, 196; Haw, 258; Hud, 142; Muq, 386; Yaq, I, 105; Fida, 419; Must, 59; LEC, 221-22; EI^{II}, art. Abhar, Minorsky.
74. A city on the high road from Āzarbā ījān to Qazwīn and Tehran in al-Jibāl. Ist, 197-98; Haw, 259-60; Hud, 142; Yaq, II, 948; Fida, 417; Must, 221; LEC, 221-22; EI^I, art. Zandjān, Minorsky.
75. A small province of Persia on the shores of the Caspian sea around the delta of the Safīd-Rūd. It is bounded in the south-east by Ṭabaristān and in the south-west by al-Jibāl. Hud, 149; Yaq, II, 179; Fida, 426-29; Must, 217; LEC, 172-75; EI^{II}, art. Gīlān, Spuler.
76. The reference here is to the town and district which lay on the borders of al-Jibāl and Daylam near Qazwīn and Abhar.

Another town bearing the same name has been mentioned as a place in Ṭukhārīstān between

Balkh and Marw al-Rūdh. Ist, 200-01, 206, 278; Haw, 260, 263, 269; Hud, 142; Yaq, III, 491-92; Fida, 421, 459; Must, 65, 156; LEC, 225, 423, 432; EI^I, art. Ṭalaqān, Huart.

77. The reference here is to the defeat of sultan Sanjar (in 536/1141) at the hand of the Qara-Khitays, the details of which will soon follow and to the capture of the sultan (in 548/1153) by the Ghuzz tribe for which see the text, 123-24.
78. The reference here is to the Qarakhānid Qadīr Khān Jibrā'īl b. 'Umar b. Bughra Khān Muḥammad (492-95/1099-1102). Dynasties, 111.
79. IA, X, 239, has Kūn Doghdī (Kūn-Toghdī) who according to him had defected to Qadīr Khān.
80. This took place in 495/1102 near Tirmidh. IA, X, 239-41; see also Bun, 262; Turkestan, 318-19.
81. This rather swift statement seems to be a reference to the two campaigns of the sultan: one in 496/1103 and the other in 503/1109; both against Sāghir Beg, also a Qarakhānid, who had challenged the authority of Muḥammad Arslan Khān, the vassal of the sultan. The sultan came to the help of Arslan Khān in person and put down the rebellion. See IA, X, 252, 335.

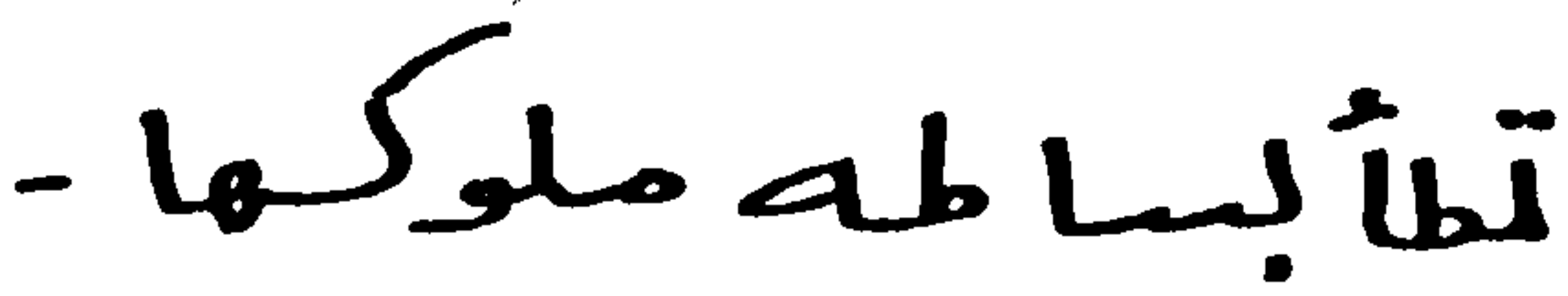
82. The text wrongly refers to Ibrāhīm as the malik of Ghazna here. It was Malik Arslan b. Mas'ūd III who was in power during this period and his brother Bahrām-Shāh approached Sanjar against him. See also Bun, 262-63; Raw, 168; IA, X, 353-56. For a thorough general survey of these events see Hāshmī, 89-93; Later Ghaznavids, 93-8.
83. He is Tāj al-Dīn Abu'l-Faḍl Naṣr b. ? Khalaf (496-559/1103-1164), the Saffārid vassal of the Saljūqs. Anon, Tarīkh Sīstan, ed. Malik al-Shu'arā' Bahār, (Tehran, 1314/1935), 390-91; Dynasties, 103. For him see also the text, 93-4.
84. The text seems to have confused both events and people here. IA, X, 465-66 gives these events in a better chronological order and his account appears to be more probable and convincing. He places these events in 524/1130 and says that Muḥammad Arslan Khān b. Sulaymān b. Dā'ūd Bughra Khān (and not Aḥmad Khān as the text has here, who was his son) when struck by paralysis, made his son Naṣr Khān his nā'ib. Naṣr Khān, however, soon fell victim to some rebellious elements and his father summoned another son of his (who in all probability was this very Aḥmad Khān) from the distant lands of Turkestan and also invoked sultan Sanjar's help. It happened that Aḥmad Khān arrived in Samarqand before the approach of

sultan Sanjar and he managed to put down the rebellion. Now Muḥammad Arslan Khān regretted having appealed to sultan Sanjar, but in the meantime the sultan and his forces had reached the gates of Samarqand. Muḥammad Arslan Khān tried to persuade the sultan to return to Khurāsān. But this made the sultan extremely unhappy. In the meantime an incident made the situation worse. Sultan Sanjar seized some men who confessed that they were charged by Arslan Khān with the task of assassinating the sultan. This provoked the sultan's wrath and led him to invade Samarqand, and overthrow Muḥammad Arslan Khān and his son Aḥmad, who was his nā'ib. The sultan then installed Hasan-Tegin in power at Samarqand.

It seems appropriate here to mention that Muḥammad Arslan Khān was the father-in-law of sultan Sanjar and the sultan had nominated him as his vassal in Samarqand after having killed Qadīr Khān Jibrā'īl in 495/1102. See IA, X, 241, 265. See also the text, 94. Cf. Bun, 264. For a general survey of these events see Turkestan, 320-22; Iranian World, 139-40.

85. It was in 529/1135. See Bun, 264; IA, XI, 17-8. For a general survey see Hāshmī, 97; Later Ghaznavids, 100-1.
86. I.e. the 'Irāq 'Arabī and 'Irāq 'Ajamī or al-Jibāl.

See LEC, 185-86; EI^{II}, art. 'Irāk, Miquel.

87. Formerly a district in the province of al-Jazīra to the north of the Tigris. Āmid (or Qara-Āmid) was its chief town. Nowadays the name Diyārbakr has replaced that of Āmid for the name of the town. See Haw, 153; Muq, 137-38; Yaq, II, 636-37; Fida, 283, 287; Must, 103-4; LEC, 108-114; EI^{II}, art. Diyār Bakr, Canard, Cahen, Sourdell-Thomine.
88. The term was used for the eastern region of al-Jazīra. See Yaq, II, 637; Must, 102-6; LEC, 87-100; EI^{II}, art. Diyār Rabī'a, Cahen.
89. The text has:  -
Lit. Their maliks made his carpet smooth.
90. For a bibliography on the Qara-Khitays see below, n. 97.
91. A group of different Turcomon tribes which occupied the vast valley of the river Chu (Shu) to the east of the Qizil Qum desert of the Ghuzz. Isfījāb, the region east of the river Jaxartes, was the boundary between these two tribes.

The Qarluq appear to have been under the somewhat loose suzerainty of the Qarakhānids. But after the battle of Qatwān in 536/1141 between sultan Sanjar and his Qarakhānid vassal

Maḥmud Khān on one side and the Chinese Qara-Khitays and the Qarluq and Qanghli' on the other (see the text below, 94), they came under the authority of the Qara-Khitays until during the Mongol period their entity as a tribal group ceased to exist. See Khur, 31; Ist, 290; Haw, 339-40; Hud, 81; al-Kāshgharī, Dīwān lughāt al-Turk, I, 393; Rashīd al-Dīn, Jāmi' al-tawārīkh, (Moscow, 1965), I, 1, 350-51. For further details see Hud (Commentary 286-97; EI^I arts. Ḳarluḳ and Ču, Barthold; EI^{II}, arts. Ḳanghli and Ḳarluḳ, Bosworth; EI^{II}, art. Ču, Spuler.

92. The title of the khāns of Khita.

Here the reference is to Yeh-Lü Ta-Shih, the founder of the Qara-Khitay dynasty of Central Asia. He died in 537/1143. For references see below, n. 97.

93. In Muslim sources this name is used for northern China. See EI^{II}, art. Ḳarā-Khiṭāy, Bosworth.

94. A town in Chinese Turkestan to the south-east of Kāshgar. Hud, 62-63; Yaq, II, 403; Fida, 505; Must, 258; EI^I, art. Khotan, Barthold; EI^{II}, art. Khotan, Hambis.

95. A village and steppe near Samarqand. Yaq, IV, 139; Must, 246.

96. One of the southern towns and districts of Samarqand. Muq, 266; Yaq, II, 568; LEC, 466.
97. For this battle see also Nizāmī 'Arūdī, Chahār Maqāla, (Leiden, 1909), 22; see also the note, pp. 112-13, where the name of the Gūr-Khān in question is suggested as Qushqīn Tayqū; Nish, 45-6; Bun, 276-78; Raw, 172-74; IA, XI, 53-7. For a general survey see Turkestan, 323-7; K.A. Wittfogel, Fěng Chia-Shengs, "History of the Chinese Society Lioa", in Trans. American Philo-sophical Society, N.S. XXXVI, (Philadelphia, 1949), 622-24. 640-42; Iranian World, 147-49; EI^{II} art, Karā-Khitāy, Bosworth; EI^{II}, art. Gūrkhān, Spuler.
98. He is the second chief of the house of Burhān (Āl-i Burhān) of Bukhārā, a small local dynasty of Ḥanafī leaders which flourished at the end of the 5th/11th century and the beginning of the 6th/12th century as subordinate to the Qarakhānids and Qara-Khitays. The heads of the dynasty used the honorific title of "Ṣadr Jihān". IA, XI, 57, 205, XII, 170; Mu'īn al-Fuqarā' Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, Tārīkh Mullāzāda, ed. Aḥmad Gulchīn Ma'ānī, (Tehran, 1339/1960), 45-52; Turkestan, 326-27; Nizāmī 'Arūdī, op. cit., 22 and the note, pp. 114-21; Muḥammad 'Awfī, Lubāb al-albāb, I, 169 and the note, pp. 332-36; O. Pritsak, "Āl-i Burhān", Der Islam, XXX (1952), 81-96, reproduced in idem,

Studies in Medieval Eurasian History, (London, 1981), XX; EI^I, art. Burhān, Barthold.

99. He was the governor of Khwārazm (521-51/1127-56) on behalf of sultan Sanjar. IA, X, 182-83; Dynasties, 107.

100. An official symbol prefixed to written decrees, state documents, diplomas and public deeds. For references and further discussion on it see below, n. 105.

101. See also Nish, 46; Bun, 280-81; Raw, 174; IA, XI, 44-5, 53, 58-9, 63. IA places the march of the sultan to Khwārazm and his recovery of the treasures from Atsīz in 538/1143-4 (XI, 63). For a general survey see Turkestan, 327; Iranian World, 143-45.

102. For a continuation see the text, 99-101, 109, 121, 123-26.

103. He died in 512/1119. Bun, 119; Munt, IX, 197, 200; IA, X, 374-75.

104. He is Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Iṣfahānī, who before becoming wazīr to sultan Mas'ūd had been munshī and ṭughrā'ī to his father Muḥammad b. Malik-Shāh. Bun, 110, 132-33; al-Sam'ānī, Kitāb al-ansāb, f. 543a; Yāqūt, Irshād al-arīb, (Leiden, 1927), IV, 51-2; IK, I, 462; 'Abbās,

146, 179-80; EI^I, art. al-Ṭughrā'ī, Krenkow.

105. During the Saljūq period there was a dīwān al-ṭughrā' headed by a ṭughrā'ī, the drawer of the official symbol of the sultan. The significance of this dīwān is evident from the fact that towering personalities like Tāj al-Mulk Abu'l-Ghanā'im were appointed to it. However, we find that ignorant people like 'Abd al-Raḥīm, the brother of 'Izz al-Mulk b. Nizām al-Mulk also had the chance to become a ṭughrā'ī, since the only qualification required for this office was to be able to write a curved script. Bun, 61, 83; 'Abbās, 29-31; Klausner, op. cit., 17; Luther, 13. For further details see Cahen, "La Ṭughrā Seljukide", Journal Asiatique, CCXXXIV, (1943-45), 167-72; S.C. Fairbanks, The Tārīkh al-Vuzarā': A History of the Saljūq Bureaucracy, (Michigan, 1977), 95-106; EI^I, art. Ṭughrā, Deny.
106. See G. Clauson, An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century Turkish, (Oxford, 1972), 20.
107. The sources differ on the date of these events. Munt, IX, 216-17, places them under 514/1120, while IA, X, 378-81 mentions 512/1118. Nish, 54, puts them in 524/1129. The battle seems to have taken place after Maḥmūd's reconciliation with Sanjar in 512-13/1118-19, therefore it seems appropriate to suggest that Munt's date is more likely.

Nish identifies the place at which the battle took place as Asadābād. See also Bun, 132-33.

108. The text has: **الدار النبوية المسترشدية**
109. See also Nish, 53; Bun, 152; Raw, 205; IA, X, 447-50 (a detailed account).
110. Not to be confused with Shīrgīr, the commander of sultan Muḥammad b. Malik-Shāh, who had earned fame by laying siege to Alamūt, (text, 79, 82).
111. See Bun, 155-56 as the editor also suggests.
112. See also Bun, 156.
113. He died at Hamadān. See Nish, 54; Bun, 154-55 (who mentions some amazing anecdotes about his death); Raw, 204; IA, X, 471.
114. This appears to be untrue, as the editor suggests, because everyone of them did become sultan, although for a short period.
115. They were killed in 525/1130. IA, X, 421, 471. Cf. the text, 82, n. 44 above.
116. A town in al-Jibāl to the south of Hamadān on the road from Qirmisīn (Kirmānshāh) to Iṣfahān. Faq, 258-59; Ist, 195, 199; Haw, 255, 260-61; Muq, 393; Hud, 141; Yaq, IV, 827; Fida, 417; Must, 74; LEC, 196-97; EI^I, art. Nihāwand, Minorsky.

117. Once an important town, but now merely ruins, in the province of al-Jibāl between Kanguwār (Qaṣr al-Liṣūs), to its east, and Qarmīsīn, to its south-west. Ist, 195; Haw, 255; Hud, 141; Yaq, II, 714; Fida, 415; LEC, 188-89; EI^{II}, art. Dīnawar, Lockhart.

118. The reference is to 'Alā al-Dīn Atsīz. See the text, 95.

119. He was the nephew of Tāj al-Mulk Abu'l-Ghanā'im, the wazīr to Terken Khatun, the wife of sultan Malik-Shāh. Bun, 215.

120. See also Bun, 156-60; IA, X, 476-77 (who further says that the battle took place at a place called 'Awlān near Dīnawar and that sultan Mas'ūd eventually returned to his iqtā' of Ganja). Ganja was indeed granted to him as iqtā' by his brother Maḥmūd. IA, X, 469.

121. Not to be confused with amīr Mengü-Bars (text, 88, 89, 106) and with Mengü-Bars al-Mustarshidī (text, 131, 132, 133).

122. He was originally a mamlūk of Aḥmadīl b. Ibrāhīm b. Wahsūdān al-Rawwādī, the Kurdish lord of Marāgha. He succeeded his master there after his murder in 510/1116. For further details see EI^{II}, art. Aḥmadīlīs, Minorsky.

123. An Armenian mamlūk of the Saljūqs who played an active role in the affairs of Iraq and western Persia in the reign of sultan Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad. He then became the commander of malik Dā'ūd b. Maḥmūd and then of his uncle Mas'ūd b. Muḥammad. He died in 540/1145. Bun, 161, 193; IA, X, 398, 422, 439, 480, XI, 22, 70.
124. Cf. Bun, 161, who says that "the citadel of Qazwīn was taken from him and he was deprived of his territory of Wazwīn." Wazwīn was a place in Bukhārā. See Yaq, IV, 926.
125. The title is used for the person in charge of the dīwān istīfā', the department which administered the public revenue and finance and was concerned with the income and expenditure of the empire.

The office of mustawfī was very important in the administrative structure of the Saljūq empire. His position in the ruling hierarchy was not, however, equal to that of the wazīr, but there is a good number of cases in which the mustawfīs were promoted to the post of wazīr. This tendency highlights the prestige of this rank in the Saljūq administration. Bun, 100, 116, 126, 141; IA, X, 304; Muntakhab al-Dīn al-Juwaynī, 'Atabat al-kataba, ed. M. Qazwīnī, A. Iqbāl, (Tehran, 1329/1950), 47-8; 'Abbās, 26-8; Klausner, op. cit.,

16, 19; Luther, 12-3; Fairbanks, op. cit., 106-22; EI^I, art. Mustawfī, Levy; EI^{II}, art. Dīwān, Lambton.

126. Bun, 160-62; see also IA, X, 480, who further says that the battle took place at a place called Wahān near Hamadān.

127. One of the chief towns of Āzarbāījān to the east of the lake of Urmiya. Khur, 119; Ist, 181; Haw, 238; Hud, 158; Yaq, IV, 476; Fida, 399; Must, 87; LEC, 164; EI^I, art. Marāgha, Minorsky.

128. He is Sharaf al-Dīn Abū Naṣr Anūshirwān b. Khālīd b. Muḥammad al-Kāshānī.

He was born in Rayy in 459/1066-67, but then moved to Baghdad and started his administrative career in the court of the Saljūq sultan Muḥammad b. Malik-Shāh as his 'arīd al-jaysh and then as his treasurer.

After sultan Muḥammad's death he worked for his son Maḥmūd as wazīr for a short time (521-22/1127-28) and then (526-28/1132-34) for caliph al-Mustarshid (512-29/1118-25) in the same capacity.

He ended up his administrative career as wazīr (529-30/1134-35) to sultan Mas'ūd b. Muḥammad and died in 532/1138 at Baghdad.

He was the author of a work in Persian called Futūr zamān al-ṣudūr wa ṣudūr zamān al-futūr,

which dealt with the wazīrs of the Saljūq sultans.

He is said to have had Shī'ī inclinations.

See Bun, 4, 97-8, 100, 149-50, 165, 174, 181;

Munt, X, 77-8; IA, X, 452, 480, XI, 9, 11, 29;

IK, II, 493; E.G. Browne, A Literary History of Persia (Cambridge, 1951), II, 360-62; Turkestan,

27; EI^{II}, art. Anūshirwān b. Khalid, Lambton.

See also note on 'Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, text, 69.

129. An important eastern city of Āzarbā Ījān.

Khur, 119; Ist, 181; Haw, 237; Hud, 158;

Muq, 375; Yaq, I, 197; Fida, 399; Must, 81;

LEC, 168; EI^{II}, art. Ardabīl, Frye.

130. Cf. Bun, 165, who says that "they (i.e. Mas'ūd, Dā'ūd and Aq-Sonqur) encamped at Ardabīl....."

This seems more appropriate.

131. A mountain and pass to the south-west of Hamadān.

Faq, 220; Yaq, I, 225; Must, 191; LEC, 195.

132. A place at a distance of one day's march from

Hamadān in the direction of Iṣfahān. Yaq, IV, 489.

133. He is 'Alā al-Dawla 'Alī b. Ḥusām al-Dawla

Shahriyār (511-34/1118-40) the ruler of Ṭabaristān and Gīlān of the Ispahbadiyya line of the local Bāwandid dynasty (466-606/1074-1210). Dynasties,

83-5; EI^{II}, art. Bāwand, Frye.

134. The reference here is to the Mazyadid Nūr al-Dawla Dubays II b. Ṣadaqa I b. Mansūr (501-529/1108-1135). Dynasties, 51. See also note on Sayf al-Dawla Ṣadaqa b. Mansūr, text 80.
135. See Bun, 162-72, 175-78; IA, X, 482-83, XI, 6, 10-11. Cf. Nish, 54-5 and Raw, 208-9 who make a swift mention of the battles between Toghrīl and Mas'ūd. For the events leading to the accession of Toghrīl to the throne and for a general survey of his reign see Iranian World, 119-25.
136. The author seems to have made a mistake here. The more likely date of Toghrīl's death would appear to be in the same month, i.e. Muḥarram, but a year later; for he had reigned more than two years, as the text itself suggests here. The date given in the text makes it less than this anyway, in view of the fact that elsewhere in the text (p. 101), his accession to the throne is given as Jumādā II, 526/1132. See also Nish, 55; Raw, 208; IA, XI, 11.
137. See the text, 98.
138. For this place see also Yaq, I, 379-80, II, 568-69.
139. A district in al-Jibāl to the south of Hamadān.

Yaq, II, 568-69; Must, 73; LEC, 196.

140. See the text, 88-9.

141. He is Abū Sa'īd Sayf al-Dīn Qāsim al-Dawla Aq-Sonqur the atabeg to sultan Mas'ūd b. Muḥammad. He had been the shahna and lord of Baghdad and Mosul and iqṭā'-holder in various towns in Iraq during the reign of sultan Muḥammad b. Malik-Shāh and his son Maḥmūd. He fought several battles against the Mazyadids and the Crusaders.

He was assassinated by a Bāṭinī in 520/1126 in Mosul. See Bun, 144-45; Ibn al-Qalānīsī, The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades, tr. H.A.R. Gibb, 154, 156, 169-70, 172-73, 177-78; IA, X, 272, 290, 307, 309, 350-51, 378, 395, 446; IK, I, 227-28; EI^{II}, art. Aq-Sunqur al-Bursuqī, Cahen.

142. The commander of sultan Mas'ūd b. Muḥammad and the lord of Qazwīn. Yūrūn-Qush then rebelled against him and joined Mas'ūd's rebellious nephew, malik Dā'ūd b. Maḥmūd, who appointed him shahna at Baghdad in 530/1135.

He died in 535/1140.

Bun, 170, 175, 176, 183; IA, X, 477, XI, 14, 23, 52.

143. The text has: تمادی یزقش البازدار امره ولواهیہ.

Lit. stretched over his commandments and

prohibitions.

144. They were Bursuq b. Bursuq, Qizil who was the amīr akhur, Sonqur, the lord of Zanjān and Haydar b. Shirgīr. Bun, 175; IA, XI, 14.
145. This is a reference to the battle of Dāy-Marg (529/1135) between the caliph al-Mustarshid and sultan Mas'ūd. The caliph had in his company a group of Turkish amīrs who had rebelled against the sultan. Moreover, malik Dā'ūd, the nephew of sultan Mas'ūd who was in Āzarbāijān had also assured the caliph of his help against his own uncle. In the course of the battle, the Turkish amīrs defected to the sultan and the caliph was defeated and taken captive and then assassinated by the Bāṭinis at Marāgha where the sultan had gone to bring malik Dā'ūd to heel.

Certain sources seem to suggest that sultan Sanjar was behind the murder of the caliph. In fact, we have a messenger of Sanjar, namely Yürün-Qush, the qārī (or Qur'ān-khwān), with a secret message from him to sultan Mas'ūd. The murder, it is true, took place immediately after this (see the text below) and therefore it can very well be linked with the message.

See also Bun, 173-78; Munt, 41-50; IA, XI, 14-17; cf. Nish, 56; Raw, 226-28 who have the battle at a place called Panj-Angusht. Both the

places mentioned above are not far from each other.

146. For this hakīm see Ibn al-Qiftī, Tārīkh al-hukamā' (Leipzig, 1903), 343-46; Raw, 245, and n., p. 484.
147. Cf. n. 145 above.
148. Cf. text, 72, chapter II, n. 371.
149. This took place in 529/1135. Dubays was a supporter of the sultan; but IA says that after the murder of the caliph the sultan did not need him any more (XI, 18-9); see also Bun, 178-79.
150. A citadel in the province of Āzarbā ījān which lay between Marāgha and Tabrīz at the summit of Mount Sablān. Yaq, II, 875; Must, 81; LEC, 164-65.
151. The text has: الحا(?)
The translation here has been suggested for إنبا.
152. IA. gives these events in a better chronological order. He has in 530/1135, a number of lords coming to Baghdad to make an alliance with the new caliph al-Rāshid who is bent upon attempts to get rid of the yoke of sultan Mas'ūd. Among them are malik Dā'ūd b. sultan Maḥmūd from Āzarbā ījān, atabeg Imād al-Dīn Zangī from Mosul,

Ṣadaqa II b. Dubays from al-Ḥilla, Bursuq b. Bursuq and some others. The caliph drops the name of sultan Mas'ūd from the khutba and inserts that of Dā'ūd. All of them are united in their desire to keep sultan Mas'ūd out of Baghdad. But when they learn of the approach of Mas'ūd to Baghdad, they disband and fly to their own bases. The caliph also leaves Baghdad and accompanies Zangī to Mosul. Sultan Mas'ūd enters Baghdad and installs al-Muqtafī, the uncle of al-Rashid as caliph. Qara-Sonqur goes in pursuit of Dā'ūd to Āzarbā Ījān and put him to flight towards Khūzistan.

In 531/1136, the caliph parts from atabeg Zangī and reaches Āzarbā Ījān probably the next year. He then goes to Hamadān to join malik Dā'ūd and his amīrs and all of them go to Khūzistān. But then Dā'ūd returns to Fārs and the caliph proceeds to Iṣfahān, where he is assassinated (XI, 22-4, 26-31, 39-41). See also Nish, 56; Bun, 179-80; Raw, 228-29; Munt, X, 54-60, 62, 67, 72.

153. A place near Hamadān. Yaq, IV, 319.
154. For him see also EI^{II}, art. Būz-Abbeh, Cahen.
155. The reference here is to the Mazyadid Sayf al-Dawla Ṣadaqa II b. Dubays b. Ṣadaqa I (529-532/1135-1138). Bun, 185; Dynasties, 51.

156. See also Bun, 183-85; IA, XI, 39-40.
157. The reference here is to Mu'īn al-Dawla Sukmān I b. Artuq of the Artuqid dynasty. He was the lord of Mardīn and Ḥiṣn Kayfa (491-98/1098-1105) and was the vassal of the Saljūqs. IA, X, 235-36, 245, 268-70; Ibn al-Qalānīsī, op. cit., 66-8; IK, I, 171-72; EI^I, art. Sukmān, Zettersteēn.
158. A town in Armenia to the east of Mayyāfāriqīn. Ist, 188; Haw, 246; Muq, 149; Yaq, I, 205; Fida, 395; LEC, 112; EI^{II}, art. Arzan, Frye.
159. For his full name see the text below, p. 112.
160. A native of Rayy whom sultan Mas'ūd b. Muḥammad had appointed as wazīr in 533/1138. See Bun, 186; Munt, X, 78-9; IA, XI, 42.
161. His full name was Abu'l-'Izz Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad al-Burūjirdī. IA, XI, 42; Bun, 187. See also the text, 114, 122.
162. A town in Fārs on the way from Shīrāz to Khūzistān. Khur, 47; Ist, 97-8; Haw, 179, 202; Muq, 420, 434; Hud, 133; Yaq, IV, 817; Fida, 327; Must, 128-29, 189; LEC, 264-65.
163. The text has: ان يفعل ذلك -
It seems that the word " لا " is missing after
The addition of which clarifies the meaning.

The version in Bun, 188-89 gives a similar meaning. See also n.4 of the editor of our text.

164. A citadel in Fārs built on a mountain situated at one farsakh's distance to the north-east of Nawbandajān. Ibn Balkhī, Fārs-Nāma, ed. G. Le Strange, A. Nicholson (London, 1921), 147; Must, 131-32; LEC, 264; EI^{II}, art. Kal'e-i Sefid, Streck.
165. See also Bun, 185-89. Cf. Nish, 57; Raw, 230-31; IA, XI, 42, 46; who give a slightly different account and say that atabeg Qara-Sonqur was deputed by sultan Mas'ūd to conquer Fārs and place malik Saljūq-Shāh there. In the meantime the sultan had appointed Kamāl al-Dīn al-Rāzī his wazīr. This person, according to them, was a "bold and strong" man, who embarked upon setting the affairs of the kingdom in order. He abolished unjust taxes, stood in the face of the oppressors and uncovered the financial thefts and frauds of the amīrs. This caused the alienation of the amīrs from him, who corresponded with Qara-Sonqur and told him about the growing power of the wazīr. Qara-Sonqur exploited the situation and demanded from the sultan the head of the wazīr before the expedition to Fārs was carried out. The sultan had no other choice but to yield to Qara-Sonqur.

It seems noteworthy to point out that Nish and Raw confuse Boz-Aba, the lord of Fārs with Mengü-Bars, who was Boz-Aba's predecessor.

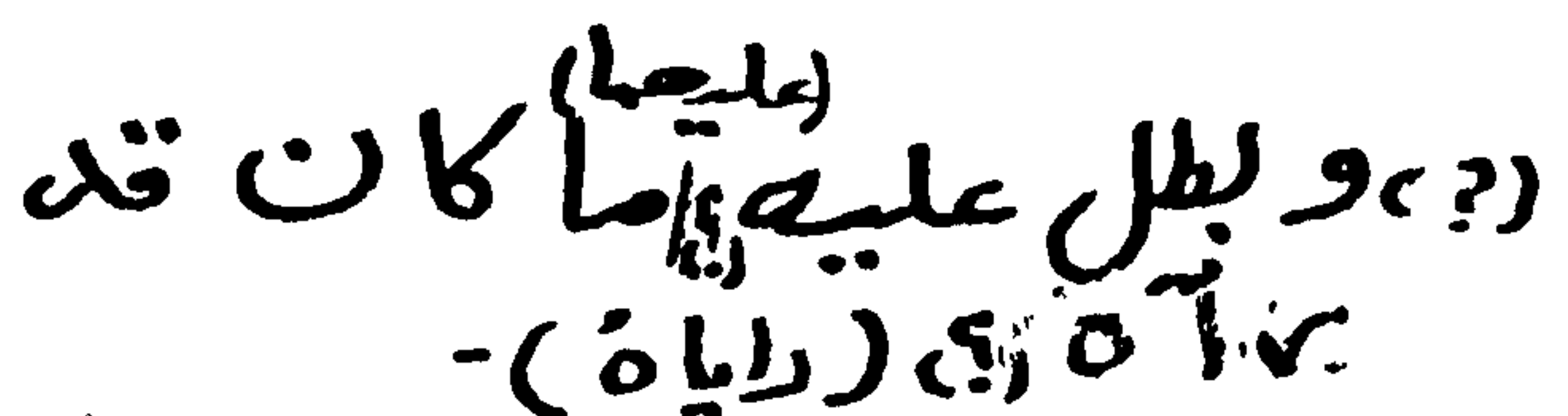
166. This rather swift mention is a reference to the expedition of atabeg Qara-Sonqur to Arrān probably in 533-34/1138-39. A terrible earthquake had destroyed Ganja, the capital of Arrān killing thousands of its inhabitants; the wife and children of Qara-Sonqur among them. Probably taking advantage of this chaotic state Iwane b. Abi'l-Layth, a Georgian, seized Ganja. On learning about it Qara-Sonqur hurried to recapture the town. This seems to be the end of Qara-Sonqur's role, as he died the next year at Ardabīl. See Bun, 190; IA, XI, 51, 52; EI^{II}, art. Gandja; see also the note of the editor of our text which incorporates the related passage from Zubdat al-nuṣra (Bun.).
167. For him see also Bun, 157, 273; IA, XI, 50.
168. Cf. Bun, 191-92, who seems to suggest that Chawli and 'Abbās had established a "friendly relationship" and when Chawli attended on the sultan, he found 'Abbās already there. Cf. also Nish, 57-8; Raw, 232, who say that sultan Mas'ūd marched on Rayy on the orders of sultan Sanjar, who was displeased with 'Abbās; but the latter's

humble behaviour coupled with a great amount of riches saved him from the sultan's wrath.

'Abbās' war on the Bāṭinīs must have taken place in 534/1139 immediately after the assassination of his master at their hands. See also IA, XI, 77.

169. See also Bun, 185.


170. The wazīr was removed from his office in 539/1144. Bun, 195; IA, XI, 67.

171. The text has: 

Lit. what he (sc. they) had seen, became false for him (sc. them).

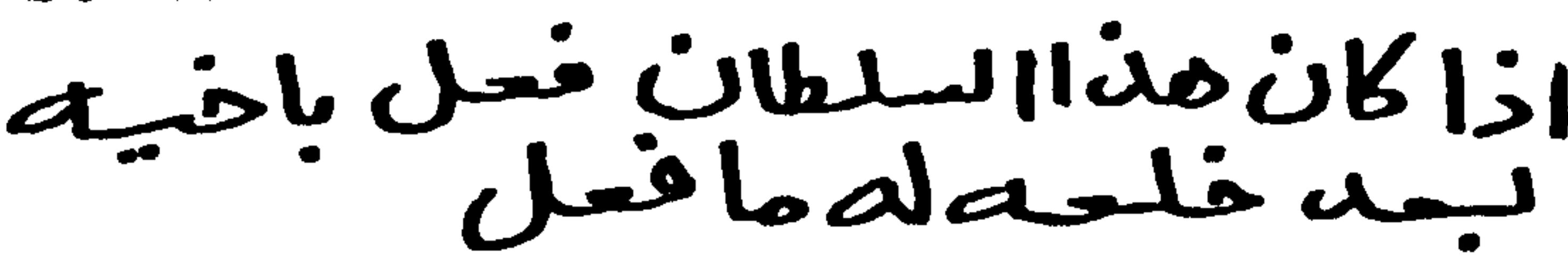
172. A place between Baghdad and Marāgha near Mosul, probably close to Shahrāzūr on the little Zāb river, a tributary of the Tigris. Bun, 200, 242; Raw, 283.

173. Probably Aq-Arslan b. Aq-Sonqur al-Aḥmadīlī. See also the text, 118, 142.

174. Such is the sense of the phrase .

175. Cf. Bun, 201, which has Khwārazm-Shāh Yūsuf, perhaps an amīr of the Khwārazm-Shāh Atsīz.

176. A small town in al-Jibāl to the north of Hamadān. Yaq, III, 40; Must, 64; LEC, 223.

177. Cf. Nish, 68; Raw, 262 who have: Farrazīn.
Cf. also Bun, 227, 232, who has Qazwīn. Each of these places lay in al-Jibāl. See LEC, 198, 218-19, 223.
178. Such seems to be the sense of the sentence. The text has: 
179. A town in Āzarbā ījān to the east of Marāgha. See Khur, 119; Ist, 181-82; Haw, 239; Muq, 375; Hud, 158; Yaq, IV, 710; Fida, 401; Must, 86; LEC, 170.
180. For these events see also Bun, 198-204; IA, XI, 68-9, 77 (a brief account under the years 540-41/1145-46; cf. Nish, 58-61; Raw, 232-36, a slightly different account. According to them, sultan Mas'ūd urged Shams al-Dīn Eldigüz, the atabeg to Arslan b. Toghrīl, who was in Āzarbā ījān to join him, rather than Chawlī. In fact, it is possible that he may have asked both of them to help him. According to the Persian sources, the plot of the amīrs was against Khāṣṣ Beg b. Palang-Eri and not against Chawlī, who according to their account, was also associated with the other amīrs against Khāṣṣ Beg.

The point where both the armies seem to have come face to face against each other is mentioned by IA. as Qāshān (Kāshān).

181. He is Aq-Arslan (or Aq-Sonqur II) b. Aq-Sonqur, the Aḥmadīlī lord of Marāgha. See Iranian World, 126; EI^{II}, art. Aḥmadīlis, Minorsky. See also the text, 142.
182. Bun, 204-5, 213-17, gives quite a thorough and convincing account of these events. He says that 'Abd al-Raḥmān Toghan-Yürek, after the death of Chawli, had cast longing eyes on the latter's territories since he wanted to become a lord there. He considered Khāṣṣ Beg b. Palang-Eri, a close associate of the sultan, as an obstacle in the way of achieving his object. To manipulate the situation he managed successfully to bring Boz-Aba and 'Abbās to the court of the sultan. He then formed a strong alliance with these two and they imposed certain arrangements on the sultan. 'Abd al-Raḥmān became the lord of the territories he wanted and took Khāṣṣ Beg with him, in order to keep him away from the sultan. They also imposed on the sultan a wazīr of their choice. Moreover, it was agreed that each of them would be in attendance on the sultan in turn. This meant that the one with the sultan would take care of the interests of the other members of the alliance. Cf. Nish, 61-3; Raw, 236-39, who give a slightly different account. According to them, 'Abd al-Raḥmān

took with him Khāṣṣ Beg, Shams al-Dīn Eldigüz and another amīr Bahā al-Dīn Qaysar to his territories. With the consent of caliph al-Muqtafī, 'Abbās had formed a design to murder the sultan. On learning about this, the sultan gave orders for 'Abbās to be killed. For the death of 'Abbās see also Munt, X, 123, which says that he was much mourned by the people, because "he was a man of good deeds and was a charitable person. He never drank alcohol nor did he commit adultery. (Moreover), he caused a great deal of murder among the Baṭinīs." See also IA, XI, 76-7.

183. He is Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Laṭīf b. Muḥammad al-Khujandī, the ra'īs of the Shafī'ī sect at Iṣfahān.

His family migrated to Iṣfahān from Khujand, a town in Transoxiana on the left bank of the river Jaxartes, and acquired a great temporal and religious influence there.

Muḥammad al-Khujandī died in 552/1157. See Bun, 194; IA, XI, 150; Yaq, II, 404; Muḥammad 'Awfī, Lubāb al-albāb, I, 266; see also the note, pp. 354-56. For some other ru'asā' of the Khujandī family see Taj al-Dīn al-Subkī, Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyyāt al-kubrā, III, 50-1, IV, 50, 80, 261; Raw, 158-59; IA, XI, 156, 166, 204, 346.

184. The text has: وانجلي النقع عن ابن
عباس مقتولا -

Lit. The dust was removed from Ibn 'Abbās being killed.

185. These events were in 542/1147. See Bun, 219-20; IA, XI, 78-9. Cf. Nish, 63-4; Raw, 241-43 who place it a year earlier which in view of the probable sequence of events seems unlikely. Furthermore, they mention besides Khāṣṣ Beg, amīr Shams al-Dīn Eldigüz and a certain amīr Shīrzād (or Shīrgīr) as having been asked by the sultan to join him.
186. Bun, 222, says that Tatār was shut in the citadel of Sarjahān and strangled there.
187. The most notable of them seem to have been Shams al-Dīn Eldigüz and Bahā' al-Dīn Qayṣar of Arrān and Āzarbā ījān, Alp-Qush of al-Jibāl, the shahna of Wāsiṭ, Ṭurunṭā'ī, 'Alī b. Dubays of al-Ḥilla, the son of the chief hājib Tatār and the son or brother of 'Abd al-Raḥman b. Taghan-Yürek. Bun, 222; Munt, X, 132; IA, XI, 87. See also n. 189 below.
188. For further details about his career see also IK, IV, 114-27; H. Mason, Two Statesmen of Mediaeval Islam, (The Hague, Paris, 1972), 13-66; EI^I, art. Ibn Hubayra, Zettersteēn, EI^{II},

art. Ibn Hubayra, Makdîsî.

189. The sources differ slightly and some seem to be confused in the details of the account of these events. To put the account in a more acceptable order one is tempted to say that the above-mentioned amîrs (see n. 187 above), who were jealous of the proximity of Khāṣṣ Beg to the sultan and were afraid of his harming them formed an alliance and after securing the support of malik Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd went to Baghdad. This would appear to have taken place in 543/1148. During this time sultan Mas'ūd himself seems to have been in al-Jibāl. So caliph al-Muqtafī, after consultation with him, amassed a large army and inflicted a terrible defeat on the amîrs.

The next year (probably in Rajab) once again a group of amîrs, the most noteworthy of whom seem to have been Alp-Qush, Turunṭā'ī and 'Alī b. Dubays came to Iraq; this time having with them malik Malik-Shāh b. Maḥmūd. Meanwhile sultan Mas'ūd himself seems to have been on his way towards Rayy to reconcile his uncle sultan Sanjar (see the text below). The amîrs asked the caliph to say the khutba in the name of Malik-Shāh; but to their dismay, sultan Mas'ūd being urged by the caliph reached Baghdad (probably in Ramaḍān or two months later in Dhu'l-Hijja) and thus

their attempts were frustrated. The amīrs seem to have had a reconciliation with the sultan afterwards. Munt, X, 131-33, 137-38; IA, XI, 87-8, 94; cf. Bun, 222-23.

190. He is Abu'l-Qāsim b. al-Faḍl b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Muḥammad, known as Ibn al-Qattān, a witty satirical poet and physician in Baghdad.

He died at Baghdad in 558/1163 at the age of about 77. See Munt, X, 207-8; IK, III, 583-84, 588.

191. He is Shihāb al-Dīn Abu'l-Fawāris Sa'd b. Muḥammad b. Sa'd b. al-Ṣayfī al-Tamīmī, a learned man of the Shāfi'ī sect and a poet in Baghdad.

He died there in 574/1179.

Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī, op. cit., IV, 221; IK, I, 559-62.

192. Cf. Bun, 176-77 who has these verses in the course of the battle of Dāy-Marg (529/1135), which seems to be a more appropriate context. See also the text, 106-7 and n. 145 above.

193. See Nish, 46, 64; Bun, 224; Raw, 174-75, 243-44; IA, XI, 88, 94. The sources slightly differ from each other. (See also above and n. 189).

For a general survey of the reign of sultan

Mas'ūd see EI^I, art. Mas'ūd, Houtsma; Iranian World, 125-34; Luther, 17-24.

194. See also Nish, 65; Bun, 226-27; Munt, X, 151; IA, XI, 105; cf. Raw, 245, who has 546/1151.

195. Before becoming wazīr he was a tughrā'ī. Bun, 195.

196. The wazīr to sultan Mas'ūd b. Muḥammad, who before this post had been in the service of amīr Khāṣṣ Beg b. Palang-Eri and the chief ḥājib Tatār.

He was a relative of the wazīr Qawām al-Dīn al-Darguzīnī.

After the death of sultan Mas'ūd he became wazīr to Malik-Shāh b. Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad (547-48/1152-53) and then to his brother Muḥammad (548-55/1153-60). See Bun, 218, 245; Raw, 249, 264, 265.

197. For some wazīrs of sultan Mas'ūd see also K.A. Luther, "A New Source for the History of the Iraq Seljuqs. The Tārīkh al-Vuzarā'", Der Islam, VI (1969), 117-28.

198. Other sources give the events in some detail. According to them these Ghuzz had settled in the pastures on the outskirts of Balkh under their chiefs, Dīnār, Qorqut, Tūṭī-Beg, Bakhtiyār,

Arslan, Maḥmūd and some others. They had a cordial relationship with amīr Qumach, the lord of Balkh on behalf of sultan Sanjar, and sent 24,000 head of sheep to the sultan's kitchen every year. However, the ill-treatment they received from the official in charge of the collection of this handsome tribute, led them to assassinate him. This rebellious act of theirs naturally alarmed amīr Qumach who approached sultan Sanjar and obtained his permission to appoint a shahna over them on the promise that he would suppress their insubordination and send him 30,000 sheep from their herds every year. The Ghuzz, however, treated his shahna with contempt and forced him to return saying to him that they were the special people of the sultan and were subject to no one other than him. This led amīr Qumach and his son Abū Bakr to attack the Ghuzz. A battle took place between them in which both amīr Qumach and his son fell victim to the swords of the Ghuzz.

On learning this sultan Sanjar marched towards them in order to put down their rebellion. When they heard of the march of the sultan, they offered him a great amount of wealth and ghulāms and begged for peace. The sultan himself was inclined to accept the offer, but his amīrs persuaded him to reject it. Eventually a battle

took place and as a result the sultan with a considerable number of amīrs was captured. The Ghuzz on seizing Khurāsān went on the rampage and caused a great deal of indiscriminate slaughter and plunder there.

See Nish, 48-52; Raw, 177-84; Bun, 281-84; cf. IA, XI, 107-8, 116-120, 138-39 who differs slightly and says that amīr Qumach was not happy with the Ghuzz being settled in his territories and wanted to expel them from there because of their deserting him for the Ghūrid Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥusayn (544-56/1149-61) on the occasion of his attacking Balkh in 547/1152. For a general survey of these events see Iranian World, 152-57.

199. IA, XI, 118, has his name as Muḥammad. Perhaps his full name was Muḥammad Aḥmad.
200. He is Mu'ayyid al-Dawla wa'l-Dīn Khusraw Khurāsān, Malik al-Mashriq Ay-Aba, a mamlūk of sultan Sanjar who successfully managed to effect the escape of the sultan from amongst the Ghuzz in 551/1156 (see the text and n. 198 above).

After the death of sultan Sanjar in 552/1157, Ay-Aba established himself in Nīshāpūr, Tus and Qūmis and play an active role in the affairs of Khurāsān and Transoxiana until his murder at the hand of the Khwārazm-Shāh Tekish in 569/1174. Raw, 183; IA, XI, 121, 149, 185-86, 192-93, 206,

247; Ibn Funduq, Tārīkh Bayhaq, ed. A. Bahmanyār, (Tehran, 1317/1938), 284. For further details of the career of Ay-Aba see Turkestan, 335-38; Iranian World, 185-89.

201. A district in Transoxiana on the right bank of the Oxus to the west of the river Wakhsh and to the north of Tirmidh. The capital of the district had also the same name which lay at a distance of four days' march from Tirmidh. Ist, 295, 298, 339-40; Haw, 350, 401; Hud, 41, 109; Yaq, III, 393; Fida, 505; Must, 259; LEC, 439; EI^I, art. Čaghāniyān, Barthold; EI^{II}, art. Čaghanīyan, Spuler.
202. See also Bun, 255; Must, X, 178; IA, XI, 146-47; cf. Nish, 52; Raw, 184 who place his death a year earlier. See also the text, 64-5 for his date of birth.
203. The account of the events in our text from here onwards to the end is not in an ordered and coherent pattern. For a more likely order and chronology see the three appendices at the back.
204. Lambton says that "assignment on state domains on a short or lifelong tenure was known as tu'ma." Landlord and Peasant in Persia, (Oxford, 1953), 28, 442.

205. Khūzistān was assigned to Muḥammad only (see the text, 120). Malik-Shāh seems to have been in Hamadān during this time (Bun, 227) and not in Khūzistān as our text would suggest.
206. The text has: al-kushak al-jadīd.
See the variant forms of this word in Raw.
as the editor notes: Kūshak, Kūshak Hamadān (p. 255) and Kūshak Mas'ūdī (p. 259). Bun, 230, has a'lā al-qasr.
207. The text seems to have a very confused version of the events here. A more convincing account of this period would appear to be that before the establishment of the authority of sultan Muḥammad in Hamadān, his brother Malik-Shāh held sway with the support of some amīrs, prominent amongst whom were Khāṣṣ Beg and Ḥasan, the jāndār (or Zangī, the jāndār, as our text would have it. But it is worth noting that they were different personages, as Zangī was killed by sultan Muḥammad but Ḥasan can still be found with sultan Muḥammad playing an active role at a later stage. See Nish, 68; Raw, 263). Malik-Shāh ruled for a short period of only three or four months during 547/1152-53. But he was an incompetent person and did not pay any attention to the affairs of state. Instead, he had given himself up to drinking and other

dissolute activities. So Khāṣṣ Beg and some of his other amīrs agreed to get rid of him. They invited him to a banquet in the house of one of the amīrs and upon his arrival they seized him and confined him there.

After his seizure, Khāṣṣ Beg sent a group of amīrs to Khūzistān to bring Malik-Shāh's brother Muḥammad from there. Muḥammad, at their request, came to Hamadān and became sultan (548/1153).

On his arrival the first task he wished to accomplish was to see the heads of Khāṣṣ Beg and his close associates cut off. This he did with great ease and without any resistance, as it would appear that the group of amīrs who went to Khuzistān on behalf of Khāṣṣ Beg to fetch Muḥammad were already in secret agreement among themselves to remove Khāṣṣ Beg out of their way. They had apparently managed to make Muḥammad also a partner in their plot against Khāṣṣ Beg. There seems to have been an exchange of civilities and presents between Muḥammad and Khāṣṣ Beg, but this was outward show. The days of Khāṣṣ Beg were numbered. The sultan did not content himself with the heads of Khāṣṣ Beg and Zangī, the jāndār, but he also caused a great deal of slaughter and plunder among their soldiers.

(This would appear to have taken place after Muḥammad's entry to Hamadān and not before, as

our text, pp. 127-28, has it.) Malik-Shah, however, managed to escape from his prison and flee to Khūzistān (cf. the text below).

See Nish, 66-8; Bun, 227-31; Raw, 250-51, 254-56, 258-62; IA, XI, 105, 106-07. For a thorough general survey of the reign of Malik-Shāh and then events leading up to the coming into power of Muḥammad see Luther, 26-35.

208. Cf. n. 207 above. He was in captivity in Hamadān from where (and not from Iṣfahān) he fled to Khūzistān.

209. A town to the north of the river Araxes, sometimes in Arrān and then in Āzarbā ījān.

At the present time it forms the suburbs of Rostov in Soviet Āzarbā ījān. Hud, 160; Yaq, IV, 767, 784; Fida, 399; Must, 89; LEC, 167; EI^I, art. Nakhčuwān, Minorsky.

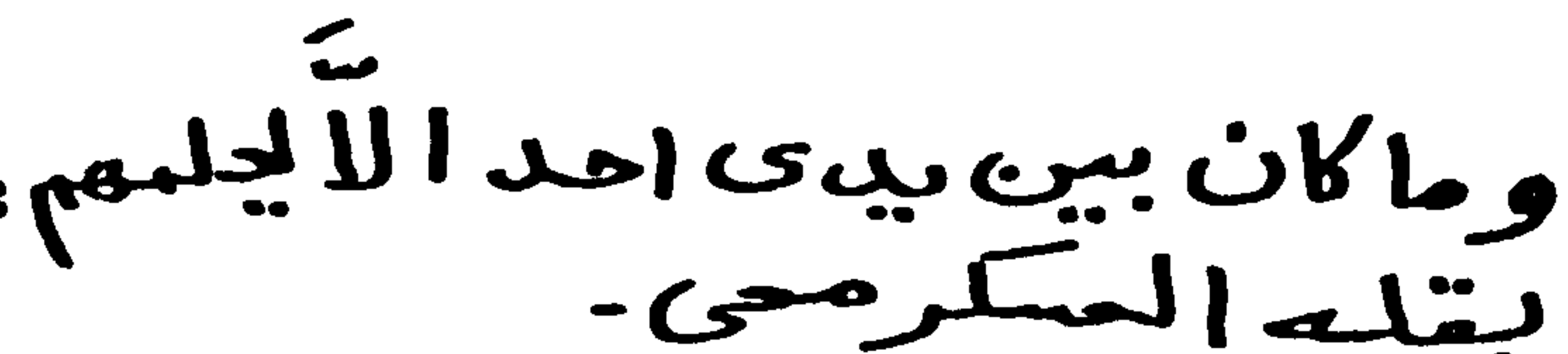
210. It would appear from the sequence of the events that this correspondence between sultan Muḥammad and Eldigūz may have taken place immediately after the establishment of Muḥammad at Hamadān. See also Luther, 38, n. 26.

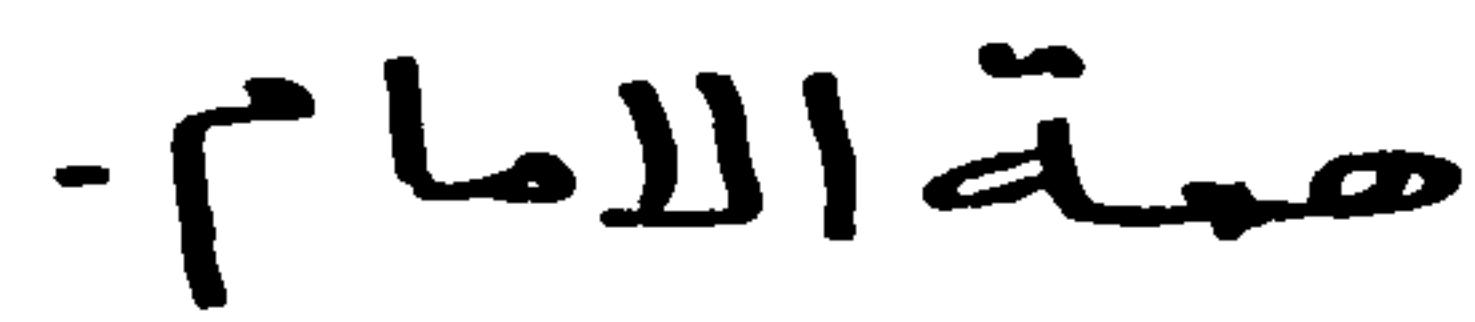
211. A district close to the limits of Baghdad. Yaq, I, 745, IV, 353; Must, 39; LEC, 63.

212. See, as the editor notes, the different variants

of the name. Bun, 235 has Sallār al-Kurdī;
Munt, X, 148, 149 and IA, XI, 106 have Salar
 Kurd. See also the text below where it has
 Sallār.

213. Cf. IA, XI, 106, who has sultan Malik-Shāh
 sending amīr al-Zuhayrī al-Kurdī to Mas'ūd al-
 Bilālī. This seems more likely, as the
 contemporary Ibn al-Jawzī (Munt, X, 148) gives
 the impression that this may have been before
 Sha'bān, 547/1152, while the sources agree that
 Muḥammad came to power in 548/1153. See n. 207
 above.

214. The text has: 
 Probably أَنَّ should be read instead of أَلَّا.

215. The text has: 
 Lit. The will of the imām.

216. A northern town of Iraq on the right bank of
 the river Tigris at a distance of 30 miles
 from Sāmarrā to the north. Faq, 129; Ist, 77;
 Haw, 138; Hud, 154; Yaq, I, 861; Fida, 289;
LEC, 57; EI^I, art. Takrīt, Kramers.

217. A Kurdish tribe of al-Jibāl. See Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī
 al-Mas'ūdī, Murūj al-dhahab, (Beirut, 1978),
 II, 101. For further details see EI^{II}, art.

Kurds, Minorsky; art. Djāf, Longrigg.

218. A town in the district of Kaskar in Iraq on the banks of the Tigris between Kūfa and Baṣra adjacent to al-Baṭā'ih. Ist, 82; Haw, 162; Muq, 118; Hud, 151; Yaq, IV, 881-82; Fida, 307; Must, 47; LEC, 39; EI^I, art. Wāsiṭ, Streck.
219. Cf. the text, pp. 137-38; n. 232 below.
220. A swampy district on the bank of the Gharrāf canal between Wāsiṭ and Baṣra. Yaq, III, 780-81.
221. The marshy area which stretched between Wāsiṭ and Kūfa on one side and Baṣra on the other, on the lower course of the rivers Euphrates and Tigris. Ist, 13, 79; Haw, 17, 158; Hud, 17, 47-49; Yaq, I, 668; Fida, 43, 296; Must, 210; LEC, 41; EI^I, art. al-Baṭiḥa, Streck, Ṣaleh El-'Alī
222. The reading of this name is uncertain. One is tempted to suggest that the place in question could be Radhān (i.e. two Rādhs). They seem to have two small towns consisting of a number of villages near Baghdad. (Yaq, II, 729.); cf. Bun, 237, who has Bajimza, a place between Baghdad and Ba'qūba. (Yaq, I, 497, 672, 706.)

Rudhrāwar (al-Jibāl) as the editor has suggested is geographically unlikely.

223. The mamlūk of the atabeg Tugh-Tegin, who later became the atabeg to Mujīr al-Dīn Abaq, the last Būrid ruler of Damascus (534-49/1140-54).

He died in 544/1149.

IA, XI, 12, 48, 96; Ibn al-Qalānīsī, op. cit., 255, 259, 295; EI^{II}, art. Būrids, Le Tourneau.

224. The events which involve Mas'ūd al-Bilālī and caliph al-Muqtafī and his wazīr Yahya b. Hubayra would appear to cover the period from the end of 547/1153 to the end of 549/1154. Cf. the text, p. 133, which places the battle of Bajimzā in 550/1154. The sources also differ in the details of the events. See Nish, 74-5; Bun, 234-40; Munt, X, 147-48, 152-53, 156-58; Raw, 283-85; IA, XI, 106, 125, 128-30. For a general survey see Luther, 48-62.

225. See also Luther, 84, n. 105.

226. For the location of this place see G. Le Strange, Baghdad During the Abbasid Caliphate, (Oxford, 1924), 168-170, 199-204.

227. The text has: امارة الرضی عنه -

228. He is Zayn al-Dīn 'Alī Kūchūk b. Beg-Tegin, a Turcoman general of the Zangids of Mosul.

He died in 563/1167 as the lord of Irbīl, a town close to Mosul. Bun, 207, 210; IA, XI, 67, 218; Ibn al-Athīr, Tārīkh al-bāhir fi'l dawlat al-Atābakiyya, ed. A. Ṭulaymāt, (Cairo, 1963), 15, 72-3, 93, 135; EI^{II}, art. Begtiginids, Cahen; EI^{II}, art. Irbīl, Sourdél. See also the text, 136, 142-43.

229. The text has: **وغي ثياب الندم سارين**
Lit. You will be bewildered in the clothes of repentance.
230. Our text seems to be the only source which provides us with such interesting information about the message of sultan Muḥammad to the caliph and the diplomacy of the wazīr Yaḥyā b. Hubayra. See also Luther, 84-7.
231. Sing: charkh. See jarkh in R. Dozy, Supplément Aux Dictionnaires Arabes, (Leiden, 1927); R. Blachère, M. Chouèmī, Dictionnaire Arabe-Français-Anglais, (Paris, 1970). See also charkh in S. Haīm, New Persian-English Dictionary, (Tehran, 1934); F. Steingass, Persian-English Dictionary, (London, 1977).
232. The text offers here some problems as on p. 137 it refers to Muḥaffar b. Ḥammād approaching the caliph for exemption from the levy he used to take him every year. But in the same sequence

on p. 138 the text turns to his son Badr without any obvious link with the preceding account. It would appear in the light of the account given in the other sources that Muẓaffar b. Ḥammād approached the caliph regarding the levy. But he was soon murdered by his nephew Nafīs b. Faḍl in 551/1156 (IA, XI, 143). And it was his son Badr who entered into a coalition with sultan Muḥammad against the caliph on the occasion of the siege of Baghdad.

IA, XI speaks of Nafīs as taking over the lands of Muẓaffar; but it seems that his son Badr must have recaptured them from his uncle (Nafīs). See Munt, XI, 168, which has Badr taking over immediately after his father's murder at the hands of Nafīs. It is important to note that our text would appear to be the only source which provides us with a reason for the rebellion of Badr b. Muẓaffar against the caliph. Cf. Bun, 249; Munt, X, 165; see also Nish, 70; Raw, 267 who have "the sons (pisrān) of Muẓaffar al-Dīn Ḥammād."

233. The name is differently referred to in the same sources, as for instance Munt, IX, 156 has: Abi'l-Jabr, but X, 168, has: Abi'l-Khayr. See also IA, X, 302, 303, where he has: Abi'l-Jabr, but in XI, 52, 143: Abi'l-Khayr. The family had

played a very active role in the affairs of al-Baṭīḥa, Wāsiṭ and Gharrāf since the reign of sultan Muḥammad b. Malik-Shāh (498-511/1105-18). They had family relations with the Mazyadids of al-Ḥilla. See for details Munt, IX, 156; IA, X, 302-3.

234. A canal to the south of the 'Īsā canal which branched off from the Euphrates, ran through the town of Ṣarṣar and emptied into the Tigris near Madā'in. Ist, 85; Haw, 166; Hud, 48, 153; Yaq, III, 381; Fida, 303; Must, 209-10; LEC, 32, 35, 67.
235. A large village below Baghdad on the western bank of the Tigris. Muq, 115; Yaq, II, 567.
236. The text here gives incomplete and inaccurate information about the role of Eldigüz and Īnanch and one is obliged to resort to the contemporaries in Baghdad, i.e. Ibn al-Jawzī (Munt) and 'Imād al-Dīn (Bun). Nish., Raw. and IA's account confirm the version of events given in these two sources and provide us with some valuable additional information.

It would appear from their account that Eldigüz who had in his custody malik Arslan-Shah b. Toghrīl and who was urged by the caliph to avail himself of the opportunity of the absence of sultan Muḥammad and march on Hamadān. So

together with Arslan-Shāh and Malik-Shāh he attacked and seized the city and caused a great deal of havoc there by plundering the treasures and taking captive the families of those amīrs who were accompanying the sultan.

They are reported to have inflicted a defeat on Īnanch who had stayed behind from the sultan at Rayy out of the possible danger of the Ghuzz (see the text, 134). The sultan on learning about this sent troops under the command of Saqmas (probably Satmaz) b. Qaymaz in support of Īnanch, but he and his troops too seem to have suffered a defeat at the hand of the troops of Eldigüz and Malik-Shāh by now on the way to Baghdad, probably to secure the khutba for either Malik-Shāh or Arslan-Shāh. However, when the sultan returned from Baghdad to Hamadān, the coalition of the enemy fell apart and everyone fled on their way. Eldigüz went to his territory and Malik-Shāh probably hurried towards Qum and Qāshān.

Īnanch remained loyal to the sultan (and not rebellious, as our text would have it) and seems to have restored his (Muḥammad's) name in the khutba in Hamadān before his arrival there.

See Nish, 71, 72; Bun, 252-53, 284-85; Munt, X, 171, 172, 174, 175; Raw, 267-68, 269-70; IA, XI, 142, 156. For a general survey see

Luther, 88-94, 95-97.

237. For the siege of Baghdad by sultan Muḥammad, the events leading up to it and for its failure see also Nish, 70-2; Bun, 246-55; Munt, X, 165, 168-75; Raw, 267-70; IA, XI, 140-42. The sources give different dates. The more probable dates would appear to be those given by Munt and Bun as their authors (Imad al-Dīn in the case of the latter) were the contemporaries of these events in Baghdad. They have sultan Muḥammad marching from Hamadān at the end of 551/1157 and laying siege at the beginning of the next year. The sources also differ in the details of the events. For a general survey of the events see Luther, 63-8, 82-94.
238. Apparently against Eldigüz who had showed disloyalty to him and had seized Hamadān together with Malik-Shāh. See also n. 236 above.
239. For a more accurate account see n. 240 below.
240. Our text omits any mention of the activities of Sulaymān-Shāh before his entry into Baghdad and the caliph's declaring him as sultan. Other sources although they treat this gap give only sketchy information. Luther seems to have examined the sources closely on this particular problem and he has tried to piece together the

available material concerning it in order to arrange it in a coherent pattern. His conclusion is that Sulaymān-Shāh escaped from his prison (see the text, 116) in early 548/1153 after the death of his brother sultan Mas'ūd. He then came to Zanjān, where he managed to gain the support of the lords of outlying regions; prominent amongst whom were Shams al-Dīn Eldigūz and Nuṣrat al-Dīn Arslan (Aba) b. Aq-Sonqur al-Aḥmadīlī of Arrān and Azarbāījān. Some amīrs, namely Alp-Ghush, Fakhr al-Dīn Zangī, Alp-Arghun b. Yürün-Qush, the bāzdār, and two Khwarazmīs, Yusūf and İnal-Tegin, who are reported to have been the brothers of his (Sulaymān-Shāh's) wife, seem to have already been in his company. With the support of these amīrs he managed to force sultan Muḥammad to leave Hamadān for him. But then it would appear that due to the lack of harmony between the amīrs and Sulaymān-Shāh, he soon parted from them secretly and fled to Māzandarān and eventually reached Khurāsān in late 548/1153, where he was proclaimed sultan by the amīrs of sultan Sanjar, who by the time was in captivity among the Ghuzz. Being a wine-bibber he was, however, not a man who could cope with the problems of Khurāsān beset as it was at that time by great chaos and confusion. So he fled from there too, probably in early 549/1154 and

came to Jurjān and from there once again to Māzandarān. From there he seems to have gone to Rayy and then once again probably to Khurāsān. Then he tried his luck in Iṣfahān, but was driven out by the army of sultan Muḥammad. From there he went to Khūzistān, but was refused entry there too. At the last stage of his roaming and wandering about in search of some place where he could establish himself, he came to Bandanījān in Iraq and approached the caliph who granted him permission to enter Baghdad. This would appear to be in the end of 550/1155. See Nish, 68-70; Bun, 232-34, 240-41; Munt, X, 161, 164; Raw, 262-66; IA, XI, 119, 120-21, 135-36; see also Ibn Isfandiyār, History of Ṭabaristān, tr. E.G. Browne, (Leiden, London, 1905), 61, 62, 66; Luther, 35 - 44, 68-75, 268-75 (appendix).

241. For relations between Eldigūz and Sulaymān-Shāh see also n. 240 above. Other sources mention that malik Muḥammad's brother Malik-Shāh also came to join Sulaymān-Shāh with 200 horses by orders of the caliph. The caliph is reported to have declared Malik-Shāh heir-apparent to Sulaymān-Shāh. Nish, 70; IA, XI, 136.

242. Amīr Īnanch always seems to have remained loyal to the sultan and hence this statement of

reconciliation would appear to be unnecessary.

See n. 236 above.

243. The text has: فكَانَ عَابِ الْخَبَارِ غَبَارِ-

The translation is a tentative one.

244. The text has: استقلت السلاسل -

The translation has been suggested for

استقلت ----

245. The text has: فسقى الله السلطان حملا
زالال نصره-

Lit. Allāh made ---- drink the sweet water of
His help.

246. This battle which led to the siege of Baghdad
by sultan Muḥammad (see the text, 138-140 above)
would appear to have taken place in early 551/
1156. It is worth noting that other sources do
not give so dreadful a picture of the battle as
our text does. Cf. Nish, 70; Bun, 241-42;
Munt, X, 165; Raw, 266; IA, XI, 136-37.
For a general survey of the battle see Luther
75-82.

247. For him see also the text, 118.

248. Which he did in 552/1157. See the text above
pp. 134-40 and n. 237. See also appendix I.

249. For a more probable order of the events see
appendix I.

250. The author places the death of sultan Muḥammad too early and hence probably misses out an important development: the peace between the two brothers - sultan Muḥammad and Malik-Shāh. The sultan seems to have allotted Khūzistān to Malik-Shāh in 553/1158 who managed to oust its lord Shumla from there and to take possession of it. After this initial success he is reported to have "turned his face" towards Fārs. Before this we find him vainly trying his luck in Iṣfahān and Wāsiṭ. For details see Bun, 286-87; Munt, X, 181; IA, XI, 156-57. Cf. Nish, 66; Raw, 256, who give the impression that Malik-Shāh was planning to take Khūzistān by force using his sister Gūhar Nasab's treasures in Iṣfahān to recruit an army for this purpose, but sultan Muḥammad frustrated this plan by sending atabeg Ayaz to seize the treasure. It is possible that the peace between the brothers took place after this incident, apparently to the advantage of them both.

Bearing in mind this development, a more likely date for sultan Muḥammad's death would appear to be the end of 554/1159 as suggested by most of the sources. See Nish, 72; Bun, 288; Munt, X, 191; Raw, 270; IA, XI, 166. For a general survey of these developments see Luther, 99-103.

251. He had an infant son whom he gave to the Aq-Arslan (or Aq-Sonqur II) b. Aq-Sonqur, the Aḥmadīlī lord of Marāgha to take him to his territory and look after him. IA, XI, 166.
252. There seem to have been intensive negotiations and consultations between the powerful amīrs as to which of the three Saljūqs - Sulaymān-Shah, Malik-Shāh and Arslan-Shāh should be installed on the throne. Eventually, they resorted to Īnanch, the lord of Rayy, who had the largest army under his command. At their request, he came to Hamadān and solved the problem by opting for Sulaymān-Shāh. This would appear to have been during early 555/1160.

Malik-Shāh, being desperate, seems to have marched on Iṣfahān and have proclaimed himself sultan there, obviously after making peace with Dakla (Degele), the lord of Fārs and Shumla, whom he had ousted from Khūzistān two years earlier in 553/1158; both of them being with him on this occasion. It was from there that he is reported to have asked the caliph to read the khutba in his name at Baghdad. These activities were, however, short-lived since he was killed probably by poisoning in the same year (555/1160) at the instigation of Ibn Hubayra, the wazīr of the caliph, who under-

standably wanted him out of the way.

Nish, 66, 72-3; Bun, 288-89, 295; Munt, X, 192; Raw, 256, 274-78; IA, XI, 166, 168, 173-74. For a general survey see Luther, 103-5, 114-19.

253. These amīrs appear to have been those who were in Sulaymān-Shāh's camp. Cf. Nish, 73; Raw, 277; IA, XI, 175, who place Īnanch's return to Rayy at a much earlier date than this. According to them, Īnanch returned immediately after the accession of Sulaymān-Shāh to the throne.
254. For the short reign (six or seven months) of sultan Sulaymān-Shāh and the events leading to his removal and his subsequent death and replacement by Arslan-Shāh, see Nish, 74-5; Bun, 296-97; Raw, 278-80; IA, XI, 168, 175-76. The sources slightly differ in the details of the events. Our author does not seem to possess an authentic knowledge of the removal and death of Sulaymān-Shāh; hence the probable reason why he fails to give any date for it. From a study of other sources it would appear that he was removed from the office of the sultan and was confined to the palace of the ra'īs of Hamadān or in a citadel there in the latter part of 555/1160 and was then killed at the beginning of the next year. For a general survey see Luther, 120-28.

CHAPTER IV

THE FALL OF THE SALJŪQ DYNASTY

(f.81b) (THE ACCOUNT OF THE REIGN OF)
SULTAN ARSLAN-SHĀH B. TOGHRĪL B. MUḤAMMAD
(B. MALIK-SHĀH) B. ALP-ARSLAN B. DĀ'ŪD
B. MĪKĀ'ĪL B. SALJŪQ, THE PARTNER (QASĪM)
OF THE COMMANDER OF THE FAITHFUL

T.p. 145. All the amīrs stood before sultan Arslan-Shāh and that day amīr Shams al-Dīn Eldigüz bestowed precious robes of honour upon all the amīrs of Iraq and Arrān and presented horses and mules to every one of them according to their ranks. The position of Arslan-Shāh as sultan and that of amīr Shams al-Dīn Eldigüz as his atabeg became firmly established and he (the sultan) stayed in Hamadān.

As for Īnanch, Ibn al-bāzdar Satmaz b. Qaymaz al-Ḥarāmī and Aqush, they made each other swear and made an agreement among themselves that they would not support atabeg Shams al-Dīn Eldigüz and sultan Arslan-Shāh¹ and would not pledge allegiance to them.² Malik Muḥammad b. Toghrīl, the brother of Arslan-Shāh was in Shīrāz with atabeg Sonqur.³ So they sent him (Sonqur) a message and asked him to send malik Muḥammad b. Toghrīl to them. Atabeg Sonqur escorted him out of the city, provided him with proper equipment and sent 1,000 horsemen of his followers with him. So they made for Iṣfahān, on the basis of a promise on the part of the notable amīrs that they would join him (malik Muḥammad). The amīrs too made preparations,

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spent a considerable amount of money and amassed troops, the number of which exceeded 20,000 horsemen. They gathered together and set out to join malik Muḥammad b. Toghrīl in Iṣfahān until the entire army of Shīrāz had united with them. Together they marched in the direction of Hamadān.

(f.82a) (On the other side) atabeg Shams al-Dīn Eldigüz and amīr Sharaf al-Dīn Gird-Bāzū, the khādim, set out with sultan Arslan-Shāh b. Toghrīl and they faced each other at Marghzār Qara-Tegin⁴ in the year 555.⁵ Both the armies attacked each other and the earth began to revolve, the mountains began to fly, the stars scattered and the sky split open. Rows of (the soldiers) of both the armies lined up and both the armies suffered a great deal of slaughter.⁶ The left wing of İnanç attacked the right wing of atabeg Shams al-Dīn Eldigüz, broke their ranks and moved their feet from their positions. Also his (İnanç's) right wing attacked the left wing of Eldigüz and they did the same as the others. İnanç himself attacked Eldigüz from the centre, but he (Eldigüz) threw (İnanç's) attack in his face and he returned routed.

(In the course of the battle) Pahlawān b. Eldigüz and İnanç encountered each other. The daughter of İnanç was his wife.⁷ He (Pahlawān) hit the croup of his (İnanç) horse with his sword and said to him: "Save yourself. If I had wanted to kill you, I could have done so."

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When the soldiers of the right and left wings of Eldigüz saw his (Eldigüz's) steadfastness and that Īnanch was fleeing from him, they returned to their positions, while the followers of Īnanch withdrew (from the battlefield), when they saw that he (Īnanch) had fled. The followers of atabeg Eldigüz laid a seige around them and encircled them from all sides. So they suffered an ignominious defeat, after many soldiers from amongst them had been killed on the spot. The followers of atabeg Eldigüz chased the defeated (followers of Īnanch); and none of them could escape except the fastest among them and those who had their backs unburdened by weapons and coats of armour. (f.82b) The soldiers (of Eldigüz) acquired plenty of riches, weapons of war and costly provisions whose value was incalculable, which filled their hands and were beyond any description. They (the soldiers of Īnanch) were scattered to the four winds. Every amīr returned to his own territory.⁸ Atabeg Shams al-Dīn Eldigüz returned to Hamadān unhurt and laden with booty. Hamadān was lavishly decorated for his (reception).⁹

Atabeg Eldigüz took a brief respite in Hamadān and then intended to pursue Īnanch, who was at Rayy. When Īnanch learnt that he was the target, he left Rayy and fled until he reached Bistām¹⁰ and stayed there.¹¹ From there he wrote to Il-Arslan Khwārazm-Shāh¹² that he had come to take refuge with him and

to become one of his ghulāms. If he was helped with some of his troops, he would capture Iraq and would make it a part of his territories in which his authority would prevail and his rule would be in force.¹³ He (Il-Arslan) gave him a very favourable reply and addressed him courteously. He sent a message to the wālī of Dihistān¹⁴ to carry to him (Īnanch) 30,000 dīnārs out of its (Dihistān's) revenue on his arrival, so that he might mend his disordered affairs and fulfil his needs with it. He asked Īnanch to go to Dihistān and stay there until he set his affairs in order. So he went to Dihistān and stayed there.

As for atabeg Eldigüz, when Rayy came under his sway, he set it aside for himself from sultan Arslan-Shāh b. Toghrīl and turned it into an iqṭā' for his son amīr Nuṣrat al-Dīn Pahlawān.¹⁵

Then the amīrs of Iraq who were with Īnanch corresponded with him (Eldigüz) (f.83a) and asked him to give them safe-conduct, pardon their crimes, overlook their mistakes and take an assurance (of safety) on their behalf which they could trust from the sultan, so that they might return to his service and renew their repentance; for they had been led to that course of action and to a reluctance to attend the sultan only because of their fear of amīr Sharaf al-Dīn Gird-Bāzū. For it was he who had made them

T.p.148 desert (the sultan) because of the many rumours which

had reached them about him, namely that he had gossiped about them and exaggerated their every misdeed. (But) now when a sultan had been installed for them, they would show their obeisance (and) he (the sultan) would prevent any one of them from coveting another in matters concerning his iqtā's and rank. They were the mamlūks of the sultan and of his ancestors.¹⁶ The sultan and atabeg Eldigūz accepted their excuse and wrote them promises which they trusted and they came to the sultan to Hamadān. They performed their obeisance to him, never leaving Hamadān. The kharāj of their territories came and their revenue was brought (to Hamadān) while they were in attendance on the sultan.

Atabeg Eldigūz stayed in Iraq for some time. Then he deemed it proper to return to Āzarbā Ījān and Arrān which he did, while the sultan remained in Iraq. He (the sultan) had the troops of Iraq with him. They stayed at Sāwa, while atabeg Eldigūz was in the lands of Arrān.

(Then) they corresponded with the Georgians and the Georgians also sent letters to them. The correspondence between them sometimes led to agreement and at other times disagreement.¹⁷

As for Īnanch, Khwārazm-Shāh Il-Arslan sent (f.83b) a great number of his soldiers to him and ordered them to spend their spring in Jurjān (Gurgān) till their horses became fat and then they should

march towards Iraq. He made Shams al-Mulk b. Husayn.....¹⁸ He was a Qarluq amīr among the retinue of Transoxiana, commander over the troops. His father was the ruler of Samarqand. But the entourage of Khotan attacked him, fought against him and killed him. This son of his fled and reached Khwārazm, where the Khwārazm-Shāh received him with honour and respect, bestowed upon him kindness and favour, married his sister to him and made him the commander of his army. SKR Khān was also a commander of a contingent of the army. When their horses had spent the spring in Jurjān and had become fat, Khwārazm-Shāh Il-Arslan ordered them to march towards Iraq and they did so.

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Atabeg Eldigüz was sent a letter from Iraq (and was told) that they (İnanch and his allied army) had made preparations and had set out (from Jurjān). He (Eldigüz) also set out (from Āzarbā Ījān) to face them. The army of İnanch reached Rayy before atabeg Eldigüz could arrive. Then from there they drove to Sāwa where the army (of Iraq) was (already) stationed.¹⁹

All the amīrs of Iraq, as we have mentioned before, were in agreement with İnanch.....

.....

.....²⁰

(When atabeg Eldigüz) delayed in joining the sultan and Pahlawān b. Eldigüz, they withdrew (from

the battlefield) and did not fight. The amīrs of Iraq stood fast in the face of Īnanch and the army of Khwārazm-Shāh Il-Arslan and fought against them fiercely. But when (f.84a) they saw that the sultan had withdrawn and that they had no sultan to fight in front of him, they also left the battlefield to join the sultan. They left behind all the tents and loads which they could not take with them. So the Khwārazmīs and Īnanch took them as booty.

After five days (of this event) atabeg Eldigüz reached them and it was not long before he went in their (Īnanch and the Khwārazmīs') pursuit and they fled from him to Rayy. They (the sultan, Eldigüz and their army) followed them (there) and they left Rayy and fled on their way.

(After this defeat) they (the Khwārazmīs) asked Īnanch to follow them but he did not agree with them and stayed at the citadel (in Rayy) which he had fortified. Then atabeg Eldigüz encamped around Rayy and captured the city.²¹

Īnanch remained in the citadel for four consecutive months and fighting continued every day between both the parties. Then Īnanch sent him (Eldigüz) a message, asking him for peace. Sa'd al-Dīn al-Ashall was the wazīr of Īnanch. Atabeg Eldigüz said (to Īnanch) that he would conclude peace only at the hands of Sa'd al-Dīn

T.p.150 al-Ashall. So because of Īnanch's extreme desire

for peace, he came to his wazīr and said to him: "Go and listen to the talk of that man (Eldigüz) and report that back to me." When Sa'd al-Dīn reached the tent of atabeg Shams al-Dīn Eldigüz, he (Eldigüz) called him to his presence in privacy, where there was no third person with them. Then he (Eldigüz) brought him the full copy of the Qur'ān kept in its chest, containing 30 parts. He swore on it from its beginning to its end, that as long as he was alive, he and Īnanch could never agree on making peace. In addition to swearing on the full copy (of the Qur'ān) he swore on divorcing (his wife), freeing (his mamlūks), giving alms and performing the hajj barefooted (f.84b) that he and Īnanch could never come to terms. (He said to wazīr al-Ashall): "If you hope that the affairs of Īnanch will be settled and you will stay with him at Rayy, this will never happen. You have an option of two things: either to be with your master in the lands away from your home, if he and you stay alive, as you have been with him, in hardship, starvation and penury, or to make plans with me, to kill him and then be with my son Pahlawān as ruler over him and over his lands of Rayy and Iṣfahān and Āzarbā Ījān. I give you my firm words on this. You have to think about yourself today and tomorrow and (the day) after tomorrow. So he (al-Ashall) said (to him) in reply: "I will think about myself and will come back to you." So he took his

leave, searched his own heart and pondered over what he had heard from atabeg Eldigüz. He came to the conclusion that his master was besieged in a citadel and could not get out of it with his army. If he continued staying there, his destiny was defeat and death and if he managed to get out of the citadel, he could come out only by himself and none (of his followers) could accompany him. A man alone who himself was driven away and subjugated could never
T.p.151 manage to return to his country once again and become amīr as he had been before. That was what would not happen, because of his enemy being too strong and his own tottering position. So it would be expedient that he (the wazīr) should take a promise from atabeg Eldigüz on what he had offered him, and should go to the citadel to İnanç and plan to kill him. So he returned to Eldigüz, entered his presence and asked him to give him a promise (f.85a) about what he had offered him on his part. So he (Eldigüz) gave him a promise. He (al-Ashall) said to him: "Give me a promise that you will equip for me any one of the followers of İnanç to whom I offer something to help me in carrying out the plan of his murder and to provide him when he comes out to you with what I have offered him." So he (Eldigüz) gave him his promise (on it). He (al-Ashall) entered the citadel to see İnanç and said to him: "Matters between you and atabeg Eldigüz have gone too far regarding what

you want from him concerning peace; for he wants you to come down to him and make obeisance to the sultan. He will not come to terms with you on less than this. Now you have to choose either to go down to him or to stay on at this citadel." Then he (al-Ashall) took his leave.

İnanch had some of the Turkish ghulāms; none of the maliks had the like of them. All of them used to attend on Sa'd al-Dīn al-Ashall. He was (responsible) for giving them their salaries and providing them with what they needed in the way of allowances and other things. (One day) a group of them came to him and had their meal with him. (But when) they stood up to leave, he detained three of them on whom he relied and who relied on him. He acquainted them with the plan which had been worked out between him and atabeg Eldigüz and about the oaths he (Eldigüz) had taken. He convinced them that the affairs of İnanch were unlikely to improve and that when his state of affairs was deteriorating it would affect them as well as him. (He said to them): "Since the matters of our master are approaching destruction (85b) and ruin, the wise step would be to rely on something which was in our favour." So the wazīr and those three plotted that they would call on İnanch, assassinate him and then would join atabeg Eldigüz and (in return) he (Eldigüz) would fulfil the promise he had given them through Sa'd al-Dīn al-Ashall. So they left him (al-Ashall)

and waited for an opportunity in which they would carry out his (İnanch's) assassination.

İnanch used to pass the night in one of the towers of his citadel. That night, according to his routine, he went to the tower and slept there. That night he had drunk a little wine. (When) he slept on his bed, the three men came, one of whom went into (the tower) and killed him with a dagger he had with him and wrapped him in his bed-covering. Then he came to his two companions and they escaped from the citadel by climbing down the wall. After this they came to the camp of atabeg Eldigüz and asked the hājibs to take them to atabeg Eldigüz. They (the hājibs) informed him (Eldigüz) and he ordered them to allow them to come to him. When they came to him they reminded him of his promise. So he told them that he already knew that and (asked them) what their concern was. So they told (him) that they had killed their master and had deserted to him. He asked them to wait until he had confirmed their claim. They said (to him in reply): "Blessing (be upon you)."

After a short while the herald made an announcement in the citadel and Sa'd al-Dīn al-Ashall came out to atabeg Eldigüz with the news of the death (of İnanch) the previous night. He (al-Ashall) acquainted him (Eldigüz) with the situation and he (Eldigüz) bestowed upon him (al-Ashall) costly robes

of honour and singled him out with a high rank.²²
The citadel fell into his hands with all its treasures and weapons and chattels including ghulāms (f.86a) and slave girls. He made the town (Rayy) an iqtā' for his son Pahlawān²³ and Sa'd al-Dīn al-Ashall became ruler over the territories and the manager of all the affairs, small or great, of Pahlawān b. Atabeg Eldigüz. He placed all these ghulāms in the service of Sa'd al-Dīn.

T.p.153 The affairs of Sa'd al-Dīn continued in conformity with (his) wishes and on the right path until his death. This very Sa'd al-Dīn, during his service with Īnanch, was the most unjust, tyrannical and cruel of all the people. But when he entered the service of Pahlawān b. Eldigüz, he became the most just and fair of the people and the most kind and merciful to the weak among them. During his lifetime until his death, he clung to the straight path and right direction and he enjoyed a marked respect in (the palace) of the sultan.

Iraq and Āzarbā Ījān and Arrān became clear for atabeg Eldigüz. He sent a number of pleasing messages to Baghdad (the Dār al-Khilāfa) and said (to the caliph): "I am the mamlūk of the 'Abbāsīd empire. I consider obedience to it as a duty and shun disobedience to it. All that I have gained of victory and triumph over my enemies is due to my cordial relationship with the 'Abbāsīd empire. May Allāh, the Almighty preserve it." After this Eldigüz left

for Iṣfahān and stayed there.

(By that time) atabeg Sonqur had approached the mercy of Allāh, the Almighty, and his brother Zangī had taken over his place. So atabeg Eldigüz called Zangī to show his obeisance to the sultan. His brother Sonqur, as we have mentioned, had cooperated with Īnanch and the amīrs of Iraq (f.86b) and had sent sultan Muḥammad b. Toghrīl to them and had despatched an army with him. Atabeg Eldigüz remembered that and it remained in his heart. He had harboured (feelings of) revenge against atabeg Sonqur. But Sonqur died by chance.²⁴ When the news of his death reached atabeg Eldigüz, he recited the saying of the poet:

"O lion of death! you saved him from
the jaws of a lurking lioness
The world had cured my anguish about
him, but he took refuge in the next
world."

The commander of the Faithful al-Muqtafī li amr Allāh passed away in the beginning of Rabī' I in the year 555.

T.p.154 His reign as caliph lasted for 24 years, 3 months and 16 days. He lived for 28 days less than 66 years. After his death, his son al-Mustanjid bi Allāh became caliph.²⁵

Then the orders of sultan Arslan-Shāh b. Toghrīl and amīr Shams al-Dīn Eldigüz came to amīr Zangī asking him to wait on them. But he became afraid.

So he sent a reply (telling them): "I am a mamlūk of the sultan and his subject and I am not among those who oppose his rule and repudiate his obedience. Indeed, my brother happened to commit an error and made a mistake, but as a result Allāh took revenge from him on behalf of the sultan and he passed away, tasted death and his life came to an end. I fear that there may have remained some ill-feelings (against me) in the hearts (f.87a) of the sultan and atabeg Eldigüz. I want to be given (a promise of safe-conduct and to be granted it, so I may come to perform obeisance to the sultan." With his envoy amīr Zangī also sent to both of them gifts, presents, alms, rare objects, different clothes of all kinds, and castrated Abyssinian ghulāms and Arabian horses, which he had bought from al-Qaṭīf²⁶ and the Arab territories. He asked them for solemn oaths to be made to him on the basis of what he had proposed through his envoy. When the envoy reached the sultan and atabeg Eldigüz, he handed over to them the message and the presents that he had brought with him and he was granted what he wanted and gained the result he desired. He returned to his master, satisfied²⁷ because his mission had turned out successfully and his mediation had achieved its aims.

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When the envoy reached atabeg Zangī, he made great preparations, set out with his entire army and marched to perform obeisance to the sultan, who

was in Iṣfahān. When he arrived there and atabeg Eldigüz learnt of his arrival, he (Eldigüz) ordered all the troops to get ready with their equipment and weapons and to put on their arms. So they did this and took their position in Zangī's path in two rows. All the amīrs received him except atabeg Eldigüz, who had stood beside the sultan in his position. When amīr Zangī approached and saw the troops lined up and that each of their battalions had the flag of its commander and that his ghulāms and the circle of the people (around him) were in the most splendid (f.87b) clothes and looked awe-inspiring, he thought that the sultan was standing there. He intended to dismount in order to kiss the ground (before him), but the amīrs and hājibs prevented him from doing so. He did it several times and each time they prevented him from dismounting. So when he approached the place where the sultan was standing, he saw the greatness of the retinue and the large number of regiments which struck him with awe and exposed his own (weak) position. When he approached the sultan, the amīrs and hājibs dismounted (before the sultan) and they asked him (Zangī) to do the same. So he dismounted. His mind had become confused, fearful feelings had engulfed him and his heart was struck by awe. When atabeg Eldigüz saw him, he drove his horse a little nearer to him. Then the hājibs told him that it was Eldigüz. So he (Zangī) fell on the

hoof of his (Eldigüz's) horse kissing it, but he (Eldigüz) prevented him from doing so. They (the ḥajibs) took him closer to him (Eldigüz) and he embraced him (Zangī) from the back of his horse. Then he (Zangī) kissed his (Eldigüz's) hand and said to him: "O my lord: I came to show my obeisance to you on the basis of your promise," which meant that he (Eldigüz) should fulfil for him (Zangī) what he had promised him. So he said to him: "Rejoice in your heart. You have come to your own house." Then the atabeg ordered the amīrs and ḥājibs to take him (Zangī) to have an audience with sultan Arslan-Shāh b. Toghrīl.

T.p.156 So the troops and the amīrs made a great, big, wide circle around the sultan, while the sultan himself stood alone and behind him were weapon-bearing ghulāms. Then having dismounted, the amīrs entered the circle with atabeg Zangī. When his (Zangī's) eyes fell (f.88a) on the insignia (jatr, chatr) of the sultan, he kissed the ground and continued to do so every few steps until he had done it several times. After this when he had an audience with the sultan, he kissed the sultan's foot. Then the sultan left his place (amidst the circle) and retired to his tent. He then ordered that food be offered to him (Zangī). So his men provided him with everything he needed in the way of food and drink and candles and carpets. Then

the sultan held a gathering of his intimate associates and also invited him (to participate in it). So he (Zangī) drank with him (the sultan) and he (the sultan) bestowed upon him (Zangī) and his amīrs costly robes of honour. He granted him horses embellished with collars and rein-handles made of gold. He (also) gave him a sword studded with jewels. Then he (the sultan) left the gathering (of the intimate associates) and ordered the prominent amīrs of Iraq that every one of them should give a banquet in honour of him (Zangī). It has been reported that amīr 'Izz al-Dīn Satmaz b. al-Ḥarāmī offered him a banquet on which he spent 150,000 dīnārs, of which 75,000 dīnārs were paid by the (people of) Iṣfahān in cash. He (Zangī) stayed in attendance on the sultan until the time of his (the sultan's) return from Iṣfahān to Hamadān. He (the sultan) granted him a robe of honour once again and assigned to him the authority over Fārs and its districts.²⁸ He enjoined him to act according to justice and fairness and not to exercise oppression and transgression against his people.

The sultan then returned to Hamadān and amīr atabeg Eldigüz also accompanied him. He stayed over there for a while.

After this atabeg Eldigüz decided to return to (f.88b) Āzarbā ījān and Arrān when he learnt that the Georgians were talking among themselves of

attacking the lands of Islam and that they had
T.p.157 attacked Duwīn and had captured everyone there.²⁹
So he returned to Āzarbā ījān.

By this time amīr Nāṣir al-Dīn Aqush had passed away. He (Eldigüz) assigned the territories of Hamadān and Burūjird to his son Muḥammad b. Aqush. The territory of Hamadān did not (actually) belong to Aqush. (But) he (Eldigüz) had given it to him as compensation for Ardabīl and had taken Ardabīl from him and assigned it to his own son Pahlawān.

When the atabeg reached Āzarbā ījān, the Georgians corresponded with him and said to him: "We used to levy kharāj on Ganja and Paylaqān³⁰ which came to the treasury of our kingdom every year. But for two years it has no longer come to us and has not reached the treasury. We want you to send it to us." So he (the atabeg) said to them in reply: "I have left Iraq and have come to these regions to amass troops, march to Tiflīs and besiege it. I will not return until I capture it. Bring forward all the strength you have, as I am coming to attack your territory. I have come with the troops, nothing can save you in the face of them, except the blows of swords and the piercing of spears."

Sultan Arslan-Shāh b. Toghrīl was (then) at Hamadān. The affairs of the troops of Iraq had (by the time) quite improved, even more than they had been during the reign of sultan Mas'ūd. So atabeg

Eldigüz communicated with him, told him about the message of the Georgians and that he had replied to them in such and such a way. He explained the message and the reply to him and asked him to join him (in Āzarbā'ījān). So sultan Arslan-Shāh (f. 89a)

b. Toghrīl marched from Iraq with troops which delighted the eye and which excited fear in the hearts and with men one of whom was equal to thousands and who individually (were equal) to two, who were well-seasoned in war and very experienced in life.³¹ T.p.158 In Iraq such an army had never been heard of before, in which there gathered together (a number) of towering leaders (qurūm) and various bands of auxiliary troops like this army. He (the sultan) marched until he joined atabeg Eldigüz at Nakhchiwān. He (Eldigüz) then departed from Nakhchiwān until he reached Ganja. He stayed there for some days.

When the king of the Georgians heard about his (Eldigüz's) advance and that he had exerted himself to meet and fight him, he sent him an envoy and implored him (saying): "I have given up what I had demanded from you and I am not going to do again what might offend you. I am going to withdraw my claim from what you desire and I will comply with you in what you want."

Shāh-Arman Suqmān b. Ibrāhīm³² had also joined the army of the sultan to attend on him and contented

himself with kissing his carpet, with a considerable number of troops and plenty of equipment. On coming to attend on the sultan he received honour, respect, distinction and prominence. The sultan addressed him as 'elder brother' (éçi).³³

When the envoy of the Georgians reached atabeg Eldigüz with the message, he presented him to sultan Arslan-Shāh b. Toghrīl. So he gathered all the amīrs and Shāh-Arman. Atabeg Eldigüz also participated (in the meeting) with them. They all held a consultation among themselves to give a reply to the envoy of the king of the Georgians. All of them suggested (f.89b) to atabeg Eldigüz that the proper course of action would be what he (Eldigüz) would propose (because) he knew the (affairs) of his territories. (So he should) do whatever he deemed fit.

But they (the amīrs) had the impression from him (Eldigüz) that he was inclined towards making peace. So the amīrs of Iraq stood up, went to the sultan and said to him: "We have spent our money on our troops and men and have raised soldiers (in such a number) that, the land is too narrow for them and the Divine degree (qadā') turns aside in the face of their strength and enthusiasm. We came here and now we are returning without meeting the enemy of Islam. We should show him a strength which will cause him to see the methods of our

T.p.159 revenge, a steadfastness which will drive him to humiliation and subjugation, a might which will turn him away from the path of covetousness and a power which will strike fear and terror in his heart." Shāh-Arman also agreed with them on this opinion and said: "The enemy of Islam is a man of hard heart and his violence is of fatal consequence for the Muslims. Yesterday he launched an attack on Duwīn, plundered it and took a great number of its inhabitants captive. We have showed him³⁴ that we are gathered together to meet him and prepared to repulse his harm and calamity. (Now) he will see that we have withdrawn without fighting him and attacking him and we have returned without confronting against him and rushing upon him. (Moreover he will see) that we have spent a great deal of money and have sent away and reassembled troops in the way we have. So then his desire will increase and we are afraid that when the sultan, may Allāh preserve his authority, returns to Iraq, he (the Georgian) will come out towards the lands of Islam with his bands and will tread on them with his troops while they will be deprived of those who can withstand him and there will be no one with them who can fight him (f.90a) and attack him. So his ignominy will gain the upper hand over the people of Islam and his harm will spread to both high and low."

When atabeg Eldigüz heard these comments and

(saw) that the people were determined to fight, he went forth to every one of the amīrs, embraced them, kissed them on the face and said: "Now I have learnt that you are eager for the jihād and determined to fight the enemies of Allāh. So be prepared to meet the infidels and pledge yourselves to prosecute the jihād for the sake of the One, the Subduer." So they gave the envoy of the king of the Georgians a soft reply and then left their place.

T.p.160 Innumerable Turcomans had flocked to the sultan and they all set out towards the territories of the Georgians. When the king of the Georgians learnt that they (the sultan and Eldigūz) had set out towards his territories, he prepared to fight, got ready, gathered his scattered and dispersed men and went out with a tremendous army and loads. None of the armies of infidels possessed what his army had (with them) in the way of equipment, provisions, weapons of war, spears (ṭarrād), marked horses and well-fed mules. Both the armies approached each other.

Atabeg Eldigūz had divided his army into three groups. One was equipped to fight the king and his troops. The other which consisted of the troops of Iraq was instructed to wait until the horses fell on the horses and the men on the men and (the fighting) with swords and lances became fierce between the (two) armies. Then they should join in to strengthen

the hearts of the Muslims (f.90b) by their joining in and weaken the hearts of the infidels when they saw them. He (Eldigüz) himself took his position in the third group. Among his ghulāms and close associates, there were men who had acquired much experience in war, encountered it several times, lived in the midst of it and had a knowledge of its secret and open tactics.

Then the king (of the Georgians) arrived and arranged his army into a right and left flank and a centre and two wings. The army of the Muslims was in front of him.

The Georgians launched attacks on the Muslims, but they (the Muslims) stood with great steadfastness in the face of him (the king of Georgia). Then they joined in a fierce battle,³⁵ chopping off along with glittering helmets that which was between necks and shoulders and striking on parts of the hair with a cutting (? haddām?) blow (darb) by a splitting (? haddām?) mace (? miqma'a?).³⁶

When the violence of the war became intense for the armies involved and its cup passed to its drinkers, and the bands of the Georgians fought against the Muslims, only the second group of the Muslims, which was (composed of) the amīrs of Iraq, was able to repel them. They (the amīrs) approached them (the Georgians) with horses like the darkness of the night and like the dashing together (of the waves)

of a flood, shouting takbīrs. They were equipped with resolution and preparations. They joined their Muslim brothers (in the battlefield) and marched on the enemies of Allāh, destroying their ranks, putting their stalwarts to flight and pushing them back from their positions. At the same time they stayed steadfast in the face of the king (of the Georgians) until it was mid-day. Then atabeg Eldigūz himself and the Turkish foot-soldiers reached them. The war and the intensely dark night provided him with tremendous riches.

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When the (Georgian) king saw the greatness of the (Muslim) troops (f.91a) and the reinforcements, and that they were coming in troop after troop, they (the Georgians) gave up their positions. So the swords fell on them from their fronts and backs. The friends of Allāh, the Muslims, outnumbered the throngs of the infidels, the polytheists, shouting at them and hastening towards them dancing and jumping. It was before mid-day that the Muslims obtained the due from the defeated enemies of Allāh. They practised (their) swords on about 10,000 men of their stalwarts and heroic (soldiers), spread them under the open sky and made them food for the beasts and birds. A group of the notables of the infidels and their throngs was taken captive. They were driven by the nose-rings of coercion, subjugation and captivity to the seat of the sultan and atabeg

Eldigüz, like criminals are driven to the fire, with their faces covered with the dust of infidelity, being overtaken by the gloom of disappointment. (They were) tied by (their) backs by force and were dragged to the ground, pulled by (their) cheeks and were injured on the jugular vein. The king of the Georgians narrowly escaped death and was content with the booty of returning (unhurt) and with the victory of going back (safe to his domains). The Muslims acquired booty the like of which had never come into the hands of any of the Muslims or into the possession of any of the Muslim army before. Their hands were filled with spoils, grazing horses, abundant riches, beautiful tents of superior quality and ghulāms who were like hidden pearls. Amongst the possessions of the (Georgian) king were the mangers in which water was given to his horses. (f.91b) All these were made of silver. (There were also) dishes in which food was served to him. (Moreover) dining tables, trays, plates and bowls, all of which were made of gold. (Beside these), jewels, gold, pearls and corals, the (names of) which have been mentioned by Allāh, to Whom be

T.p.162 praise, in the Qur'ān, promising them to the people of the paradise, were (also) found in the treasury of the king. This battle took place in the year 556.³⁷

The armies (of the sultan) entered into the

territories of the Georgians after having rested for some days. They made raids there and caused a great deal of plunder, slaughter, capture and devastation until they left the territories completely ruined as if it had not been inhabited the day before. Then they left while they had acquired (a great amount of) spoils which mended their affairs and fulfilled their wishes.

After this the sultan and atabeg Eldigüz returned to Ganja, while Shāh-Arman left for the seat of his domain. Atabeg Eldigüz installed someone in Ganja who could guard it and defend it against the enemy who might attack its outskirts or towns. Then he set out till he reached Nakhchiwān, where he stayed for some days attending on the sultan. Then they made for Hamadān and reached there safe and sound with their hands full of booty, being unhurt and none of their hope remained unfulfilled.

When it was the year 562, al-Mu'ayyid Ay-Aba despatched a message from Nīshāpūr to atabeg Eldigüz. He (Ay-Aba) sent him word that Khwārazm-Shāh Il-Arslan had resolved to attack Nīshāpūr and free it from him. And when he had achieved what he was aiming at as regards Nīshāpūr, he would not be content with that and would decide to march on Iraq. (He further said to Eldigüz): "If you did not move in a way (f.92a) which would prevent him (Il-Arslan) from what he had dreamed of, a flood of misery would break out on you

which you would not be able to stop and a sea of hardship would swell up, whose tide would not abate."

Atabeg Eldigüz was at Hamadān.³⁸ So he departed from there to Rayy and sent a messenger to Khwārazm-Shāh Il-Arslan saying to him: "This very al-Mu'ayyid

T.p.163 Ay-Aba is the mamlūk of the sultan and Khurāsān is the territory (under the sway) of the sultan and (had been) the domain of his forefather and ancestors. And so is Khwārazm in which (at the moment) you are. If you made for Nīshāpūr, the reaction would be that I would advance towards you and there would be battle and war between us. You have to think about yourself." It was as if these words provoked the anger of Khwārazm-Shāh Il-Arslan and he was inspired with fury which agitated him and he prepared to make for Nīshāpūr.

He marched towards it in the year 562 and encamped there. Atabeg Eldigüz also marched and encamped at Bistām. Khwārazm Shāh Il-Arslan remained encamped at Nīshāpūr for two months fighting its inhabitants; but he could not capture a single part of it. When he learnt that atabeg Eldigüz and the army of Iraq had arrived, he left Nīshāpūr (for)³⁹ Jurjān. At (this juncture)⁴⁰ al-Mu'ayyid Ay-Aba sent al-qādī al-imām Fakhr al-Dīn al-Kūfī⁴¹ to him (Il-Arslan) as his envoy and said to him: "You have spent a great deal of money and have given away a considerable amount of gifts. So it is not proper

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that you should return to Khwārazm without (achieving) your aim. Now since you have returned, I am your mamlūk and I place myself under obligation in obeying you. I will read the khut̤ba for you and will strike coins of dīnārs and dirhams in your name and I will rule in (my) territories in conformity with your commandments and prohibitions." When Khwārazm-Shāh Il-Arslan heard this message, he rejoiced at it and was excited (f.92b). They were both reconciled on the basis of this message. The coming of al-qāḍī Fakhr al-Dīn pleased Khwārazm-Shāh Il-Arslan and he bestowed robes of honour upon him and gave him pleasing presents and sent him back to Nīshāpūr. He (also) sent an envoy with him on his behalf to al-Mu'ayyid Ay-Aba with splendid honours, many gifts, horses adorned with gold and silver, excellent and swift horses clothed in veils and saddles and all kinds of rare objects which he had in his treasury. Al-qāḍī Fakhr al-Dīn returned to Nīshāpūr. He had achieved what he had aimed at and had been successful in his efforts; his heart was happy and his thirst quenched.

When atabeg Eldigüz heard of the reconciliation which had taken place between al-Mu'ayyid Ay-Aba and Khwārazm-Shāh Il-Arslan, he returned from Bistām towards Rayy and Āzarbā ījān⁴² and sent a messenger to Mosul asking them (the ruling amīrs) to read the khut̤ba and strike coins (in the name of sultan Arslan-

Shāh) and to send what they used to send (in the past) to the Saljūq sultans. So they responded with willing ears and obedience and read the khutba for sultan Arslan-Shāh b. Toghrīl at Mosul and all the regions of Diyārbakr and al-Jazīra. They (also) sent him gifts, presents, rare objects, Arabian horses, Roman mules and all kinds of clothes woven in Egypt and Damascus. Friendship was established between atabeg Quṭb al-Dīn Mawdūd⁴³ b. Zangī (of Mosul) and atabeg Shams al-Dīn Eldigüz and they became like one hand in attendance on sultan Arslan-Shāh b. Toghrīl.

As for the lord of Fārs (Zangī), he paid the tax as he used (f.93a) to during the reigns of sultan Mas'ūd and sultan Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad Tapar.

In the year 563, the malik of Kirmān⁴⁴ passed away and his sons disputed with each other. Each of them wanted to be the malik after him. The middle one of his sons⁴⁵ fled. They were three in number.⁴⁶ He reached Hamadān to attend the sultan Arslan-Shāh b. Toghrīl and atabeg Eldigüz. They accepted his claim and fulfilled his desires. Atabeg Eldigüz in addition to the customary response, addressed him with a reply by which he gladdened him and strengthened his back in his recent success. He glorified his position, elevated his rank, honoured his (request for) refuge and equipped him,

so he might return to his own domains. He gave him some troops which were enough for his (purpose). He rectified their deficiencies and made amīr Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Nāṣir al-Dīn Aqush, the wālī of Hamadān, commander over them. He was one of the most courageous stalwarts and horsemen who have been mentioned already. He (Eldigüz) sent notable wālīs and retinue under his flag, after fulfilling their requirements in terms of money and weapons.

He (amīr Jamāl al-Dīn) marched from Hamadān in the year 564. When he reached Guwāshīr (Bardasīr),⁴⁷ which was the capital of Kirman, the malik (in authority)⁴⁸ there left it and fled to Nīshāpūr. Amīr Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aqush entered the city on a day which resembled a feast-day (yawm al-zīna).⁴⁹ He captured the citadel and handed it over to the malik of Kirman, as sultan (f.93b) Arslan-Shāh b. Toghrīl and atabeg Eldigüz had ordered him to do. Amīr Jamāl al-Dīn stayed there until he had rested.

When the malik entered the citadel, he found treasures there which his brother could not manage to carry (with him), like weapons, bedspreads and some silver dishes. So he carried all these objects to amīr Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aqush and offered his apology to him and said (to him): "By Allāh! If I had found loads of jewels in (these) treasures, I would not have been the kind of man who would have kept them away from the sultan, but I would have

sent them to him and to amīr atabeg Eldigüz; because they left nothing undone for me and they did a favour to me, showered their generosity upon me and helped me to get my genuine share. You have to offer your apology to Allāh, to Whom be praise, O amīr Jamāl al-Dīn! you must offer an apology to the sultan and atabeg Eldigüz on my behalf."

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The malik of Kirmān collected a sum of money from the (people of his) territories during the stay of amīr Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aqush (there) and gave a portion of it to the army which accompanied him and sent the rest of it to the sultan. He said (to amīr Jamāl al-Dīn): "I am the nā'ib of the sultan in these regions. I will send as a tribute to the sultan and atabeg Eldigüz all that is surplus to the expenses of (my) army and I will keep nothing out of it for myself. He put this down in writing for the sultan and atabeg Eldigüz.

Amīr Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aqush returned to Iraq during the rest of this year. When he approached Hamadān, the city was lavishly decorated for his reception and they (the people) made domes in its markets embellished with a variety of clothes. The sultan ordered a group of the amīrs (f.94a) to go forward and receive him. So they went forward and received him. When he came in to the sultan, he (the sultan) bade welcome to him, met him in a courteous manner, showed him kindness, bestowed on

him precious robes of honour and agile beasts for riding and made him chief ḥājib (amīr al-ḥujjāb).

Then he took leave of the sultan and went to attend atabeg Eldigūz. He stood for him, embraced him, kissed him between the eyes and said to him: "Praise be to Allāh who destined the conquest of Kirmān at your hands, the giving of it to its lord and the achieving of the ends of the sultan and the help (he needed) to achieve his aim. He was really concerned about the return of this malik to his own domains and his accession to his own seat in the domains which his brother had usurped from him, after his father had granted it to him and his (other) two brothers had favoured him with it.⁵⁰

On the 9th of Rajab in the year 567, Khwārazm Shāh Il-Arslan b. Atsīz died⁵¹ and the lands of Iraq and Āzarbā ījān became untroubled for the sultan and amīr Shams al-Dīn Eldigūz, the atabeg, in which T.p.167 (now) they held sway and in which (now) their authority prevailed.

Sultan Arslan-Shāh b. Toghrīl was outwardly (ṣūratān) in power but atabeg Eldigūz held the real authority (ma'nān). He (Eldigūz) implemented the rules, granted the lands as iqtā's, had the control over the treasures and could take them (with him) wherever he wanted in the regions. The sultan had no power to share in any of these. Sometimes the despotic behaviour of atabeg Eldigūz in the affairs

(of the sultanate), his free hand in iqṭā's and assigning them to anyone to whom he wished would vex the sultan. (f.94b) So he would speak up about this state of affairs. But his mother, who was (now) the wife of atabeg Eldigüz and the mother of two sons from him (namely) Nuṣrat al-Dīn Muḥammad Pahlawān and Muṣaffar al-Dīn 'Uthmān Qizīl-Arslan would say to him: "Do not be uneasy (about it) because this man (Eldigüz) has put himself at risk and has rushed towards death (in a number) of wars time and again. He has spent the most valuable of his riches and has destroyed his ghulāms and men until he was able to enthrone you as sultan. How many of the Saljūqs, who are older than you (in age) are in prisons and lead a miserable life? Their sole wish is to be able to move from their places; but they cannot, while you are sitting on the throne of the sultanate and he (Eldigüz) and his two sons attend you and stand before you and fight your enemies and subdue your rivals. Your heart is free (from worrying) about these tasks. Whenever the atabeg decides to give something to someone or take away something from someone, it is for the sake of the repair of your empire and to stabilise your authority. So his actions should not vex you and his decisions should not disquiet you. (After all) he is your mamlūk." When he (sultan Arslan-Shāh) heard this from his mother, he would calm down.⁵²

The commander of the Faithful al-Mustanjid bi Allāh died on Saturday, 8th of (the month) of Rabī' I in the year 566 and allegiance was pledged to his son T.p.168 al-Mustaḍī' bi nūr Allāh, on Sunday, 10th of Rabi' II in the year 566.⁵³

Atabeg Eldigüz would move sometimes to Iraq and on other occasions to Āzarbā'ījān until the year 569. He would take the sultan with him sometimes, while at other times he would go alone. During the course of this year (f.95a) he went to Āzarbā'ījān and stayed there until it came to the year 570 when he died at Nakhchiwān.⁵⁴ The sultan was at Hamadān (at this time) and Muḥammad Pahlawān was with him.

When the news of the death of atabeg Eldigüz reached his son Muḥammad Pahlawān, while he was attending the sultan in the capacity of amīr al-ḥujjāb (chief ḥajīb) and subject to his authority, he became afraid of the sultan. So he rode out and went to Āzarbā'ījān, where he took over the position of his father. He seized the treasury and riches, gathered (his) troops and men and stayed at his place waiting for (the development of) the events which would clarify for him the intention of the sultan towards him.

As for the sultan, when atabeg Shams al-Dīn Eldigüz passed away and Muḥammad Pahlawān departed from him, the troops and amīrs gathered round him and brought him plenty of riches, because he did

not possess any of the money in his hands. He made preparations to march towards Āzarbā Ījān and free it from Muḥammad Pahlawān. He left Hamadān having with him the troops of Iraq. The amīrs showed zeal, made every effort and assembled troops, the like of which was not known in Iraq (before). They (then) made for Āzarbā Ījān. They embellished (the situation) to the sultan and said to him: "When you free Āzarbā Ījān and instal one of your followers whom you trust, you should return to Hamadān and march on Baghdad and capture it. The lord of Mosul, Quṭb al-Dīn Mawdūd b. Zangī, who is your mamlūk and owes loyalty to you, will come to join you. When you

T.p.169 capture Baghdad and have the khutba read in your name from the pulpit of the caliphate (f.95b), the expanse of the territories will become free for you from any other rival or enemy who is liable to achieve supremacy or fight (against you)." So he agreed with their suggestion. He set out and reached the town of Zanjān where a serious illness took him, which upset him, caused him uneasiness and weakened him. He stayed on there waiting to recover from his illness. But (instead) it grew worse. When he realised that the illness had got worse and that his last moments had approached to swallow (him) up, he ordered that he be carried to Hamadān. So he returned and the troops also returned. He died in the year 570, two months after the death of atabeg Shams al-Dīn

Eldigüz before reaching Hamadān.⁵⁵ His dead body was carried there and was buried beside the (grave) of his father sultan Rukn al-Dīn Toghrīl in his dome. The news of his death spread in the regions.

His son malik Toghrīl was with amīr Nuṣrat al-Dīn Muḥammad Pahlawān b. Eldigüz in Nakhchiwān. He made him mount the throne of the sultanate and left Nakhchiwān making for Iraq. He (Muḥammad Pahlawān) had been appointed to the post of (Toghrīl's) atabeg as was his father to sultan Arslan-Shāh.

Malik Muḥammad, who was older than his brother sultan Arslan-Shāh was in Khūzistān. When he learnt that his brother sultan Arslan-Shāh had died, he asked Sharaf al-Dīn Amīrān b. Shumla,⁵⁶ who was his atabeg and the ruler of Khūzistān and its army, to march with him to Iraq. But he (Amīrān) said to him: "I cannot fight atabeg Pahlawān on my own. Do not forget that not long ago he fought my father (f.96a) in Qirmisīn,⁵⁷ defeated him and killed him.⁵⁸ He has with him now the troops of Iraq, Āzarbā Ījān and Arrān, whose number exceeds 50,000 horsemen. But you should go to Iṣfahān by yourself. Perhaps some of the troops of the sultan and their amīrs would defect to you, when they hear of your arrival to Iṣfahān. So if you secured this, then I would join you along with the troops at my disposal." He (malik Muḥammad)

T.p.170 agreed to his suggestion and set out towards Iṣfahān and entered the city. The wālīs who were in power

there came to an agreement with him. From Hamadān Qufshad⁵⁹ b. Qaymaz al-Ḥarāmī set out to join him and reached Iṣfahān. He had about 1,000 horsemen with him.

When atabeg Pahlawān reached Hamadān, he rode out from there in the company of his close associates and ghulāms and rushed towards Iṣfahān (reaching there) in five days. He attacked malik Muḥammad like an arrow which is shot (from the bow) or a shooting-star which lies in wait (to strike), acting like one who has taken enthusiasm as his friend and companion and has put aside the fear of the consequences, persisting in determination and exertion. Malik Muḥammad and the troops in his command fled in the direction of Khūzistān. But amīr Sharaf al-Dīn Amīrān b. Shumla did not allow them to enter his territory out of fear of atabeg Pahlawān. So they went to Wāsiṭ. Pahlawān (? Muḥammad)⁶⁰ stayed facing Wāsiṭ on the eastern side for a period of three days. The lord of Wāsiṭ then sent a message to him and said to him: "Hospitality lasts for three days. We have fulfilled our obligation as host. Now it will be prudent for you to go in the direction where you have come from." So he (malik Muḥammad) said: "I want to go to the commander of the Faithful to kiss the holy threshold (atabat al-sharīfa) and become one of the mamluks of the magnificent empire, may Allāh preserve it." The

lord of Wāsiṭ said to him (in reply); "Go away wherever your heart tells you (to go)." So he expelled him from Wāsiṭ and he left it and set out making for Baghdad. (On arriving there) he encamped near al-Nīl⁶¹ waiting for a favourable moment (to enter Baghdad). He sent an envoy to Baghdad, but he could not find there what he had sought. The troops (of the caliph) came out. They had been given permission⁶² to make him their prey if they caught him. So he flew away from them making for Khūzistān. But the lord of it (Khūzistān) did not allow him to stay there. So he went to the city of Shīrāz to atabeg Zangī and stayed with him. But atabeg Pahlawān sent him (Zangī) a message (saying to him): "If you do not send malik Muḥammad to the sultan keeping him under guard, I will march towards you. If you fight against me, this will cause you to perish and if you flee in front of me, this will be (the day of) your destruction and of your territories." So atabeg Zangī arrested him (malik Muḥammad) and handed him over to sultan Toghrīl. Atabeg Pahlawān then seized him and confined him to the citadel of Sarjahān. This was the end of his era.⁶³

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The regions became pure for atabeg Pahlawān and he installed sultan Toghrīl on the throne of the kingdom.

The commander of the Faithful al-Mustadī' bi

nūr Allāh died when two nights had passed of the month of Dhu'l Qa'da in the year 575.⁶⁴ His reign lasted for 11 years and six days. After his death his son the imām, the commander of the Faithful, al-Nāṣir li dīn Allāh Abu'l-'Abbās became caliph.

SULTAN RUKN AL-DĪN TOGHRĪL B. (f.97a)
ARSLAN-SHĀH B. TOGHRĪL B. MUḤAMMAD TAPAR
B. MALIK-SHĀH B. ALP-ARSLAN B. DĀ'ŪD B.
MĪKĀ'ĪL B. SALJŪQ, THE PARTNER (QASĪM)
OF THE COMMANDER OF THE FAITHFUL

Sultan Toghrīl, a young boy, who was left behind could not deal with anything. A terrible fear of atabeg Pahlawān established itself in the hearts of the soldiers and the lords of the outlying regions and all the maliks were awe-struck by him.

T.p.172 He (Pahlawān) gathered troops and made for Āzarbā ījān and Arrān and entered the territories of the Georgians. Nobody had the power to face him. So they (the Georgians) sent him an envoy and made peace with him on the basis of what he wished. He then returned to Iraq.⁶⁵

He made his brother Muẓaffar al-Dīn Qizīl-Arslan his nā'ib in Āzarbā ījān and Arrān and wrote letters to the maliks of the outlying regions and asked them to read the khuṭba in the name of sultan Rukn al-Dīn

Toghrīl. So they complied with this and the khutba was read in his (Toghrīl's) name in Mosul and its surrounding regions, in Armenia, Khilāṭ (Akhlāṭ), Fārs and its outskirts and the areas which share borders with them and in the whole of Khūzistān. His (atabeg Pahlawān's) authority became established in every region.

Then he sent messages to the Khwārazm-Shāh (Tekish),⁶⁶ befriended him and showed him his good will. During his whole life there remained close contact and exchange of gifts between him and the Khwārazm-Shāh (Tekish).

His letters to the (caliph's) honourable house (dār al-'azīza) continued during his whole life with the (declaration) of his loyalty, submission and due obedience (to it). He proclaimed that he had not gained that authority and power over those territories except by virtue of the blessing which enfolded him because of (his) being loyal to the honourable house and which he had received because of his submission (f.97b) to the holy commandments (awāmir al-sharīfa). Robes of honour and gifts from the honourable house came to him continually and without fail. All his life he carried out the exalted commandments (awāmir al-'āliya) of the family of the Prophet (i.e. of the caliph) and performed the holy ceremonies of the imām, until he passed away.⁶⁷ His life came to an end in the year 582.⁶⁸

When he passed away, he left behind four sons. Two of them were by the same mother who was İnanch Khatun, the daughter of amīr İnanch. One of these two was called İnanch Maḥmūd and the other Amīr Amīrān 'Umar. Of his two other sons one's name was Abū Bakr who was by a Turkish slave-mother. He was the oldest of all (his) sons. The Turks were with his (Abū Bakr's) uncle Muḏaffar al-Dīn Qizīl-Arslan in Āzarbā Ījān. He (Qizīl-Arslan) had no offspring of his own. So he considered Abū Bakr as his own son. The second one (of his two other) sons who T.p.173 remained in Hamadān (too) was from a slave-mother. His name was Öz-Beg.⁶⁹

Atabeg Pahlawān had earmarked Āzarbā Ījān and Arrān for his son Abū Bakr and had put him under the tutelage of his uncle Muḏaffar al-Dīn Qizīl-Arslan. He had singled out Rayy, Iṣfahān and the rest of Iraq for his two sons İnanch Maḥmūd and Amīr Amīrān 'Umar while ^{he} assigned Hamadān to his son Öz-Beg. He commanded (all of) them to rule under the command of their uncle Qizīl-Arslan after the inevitable had happened to him.

When he died, the affairs continued according to what he had commanded earlier. He also advised all his sons to continue performing obeisance to sultan Toghrīl and to neither harbour enmity against him nor deviate from his obedience. (f.98a) (Instead) they should assist him and should not betray him.

They should be in unity with him and should not desert him. They should be loyal to him and should not disobey him and be under his command in every matter. He enjoined on them that they should take the utmost care not to deviate from obeying the honourable and holy commandments of (the caliph),⁷⁰ whatever circumstances might occur to them. (He said to them): "You will find the commander of the Faithful, a pillar (rukn) upon which you can lean in hardships and a stronghold (ḥiṣn) and fortress (ma'qal) in which you can take shelter if a stubborn enemy overwhelms you."

When atabeg Pahlawān passed away, Muẓaffar al-Dīn Qizīl-Arslan came out having gathered together the troops of Āzarbā. Ijān and Arrān and a great part of the troops of Iraq. He set out towards⁷¹ Hamadān, where there was sultan Rukn al-Dīn Toghrīl who had with him Īnanch Maḥmūd and Amīr Amīrān 'Umar. Their Mother (Īnanch Khatun) was at Rayy. When atabeg Muẓaffar al-Dīn Qizīl-Arslan approached Hamadān, sultan Toghrīl commanded all the amīrs and troops to receive him at the distance of one day's journey. So they received him in the way in which they used to receive him and his brother.

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When Muẓaffar al-Dīn Qizīl-Arslan intended to enter Hamadān, the sultan came out to (meet him) outside the old summer-house, where he (the sultan) had put up. So he received him. Atabeg Qizīl-Arslan

dismounted and kissed the ground (before him). The sultan brought him closer to himself as he (Qizil-Arslan) was his uncle - because he was the brother of sultan Arslan-Shāh from the same mother - until he embraced him while on horseback. Then he and the troops mounted (their horses) to make obeisance to the sultan until they reached the summer-house. Muẓaffar al-Dīn (f.98b) atabeg Qizil-Arslan then dismounted and carried (the sultan's) saddle-cloth (ghāshiya) while all the amīrs walked (in front of him) with bared swords in their hands. The sultan then went into his residence in the summer-house and atabeg Qizil-Arslan went to his own tent.

The next morning atabeg Qizil-Arslan brought presents, gifts, all kinds of pleasing and rare objects to the sultan, the like of which nobody had offered to him before. The next day he did the same. Every day he would bring him (objects) which were the same as those he had brought him the day before. This continued for a period of a whole month. The value (of these gifts) exceeded 150,000 dīnārs in cash. (Besides these) he brought (the sultan) in cash 100,000 dīnārs in all kinds of coins. He conferred robes of honour upon all the amīrs and won them over. So all the amīrs joined hands with him as they had been with his father (atabeg Eldigüz) and brother (atabeg Pahlawān).

When the mother of the sons of his (Qizil-Arslan's)

brother (atabeg Pahlawān), Īnanch Khatun, the daughter of (amīr) Īnanch realised that atabeg Qizil-Arslan had brought all the affairs under his sway and that Abū Bakr b. atabeg Pahlawān, the eldest (son) who was under the care of his uncle, had gained a higher position and rank than her two sons, she was not happy with this state of affairs. So she sent a secret message to Ay-Aba⁷² and Rūs in Hamadān. They were the mamlūks of atabeg Pahlawān and were the greatest of his ghulāms and on this occasion they were the commanders of the army of atabeg Pahlawān. She said to them: "How can it please you that the son of a slave-woman should be higher in status and position than my two sons. In my hands I have an amount of riches, treasures, dīnārs and dirhams with which I can fulfil your needs (f.99a) for a number of years. I want you to put my sons on horseback and bring them to me. I will support you and all those who come with you and I will spend money until all the troops of your master atabeg Pahlawān join you."

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When the (suggestion) which Īnanch Khatun had sent to them reached them, they mounted (their horses) in the first part of the night and set out (towards Rayy). Two days passed and on the third day they reached Rayy and Īnanch Khatun. Both her sons were with them. She came out and received them. Those ghulāms of atabeg Pahlawān who had

stayed behind in Hamadān and his troops also joined them and (thus) the strength of their army increased.

(On becoming aware of these developments) atabeg Muẓaffar al-Dīn Qizil-Arslan was obliged to set out to Rayy in their pursuit. So when he reached Rayy, Ay-Aba and Rūs fled and went to Dāmghān where they stayed outside the city. Atabeg Muẓaffar al-Dīn Qizil-Arslan stayed (at Rayy) for some days. Then (Īnanch) Khatun and her sons Qutluḡ Īnanch Maḥmūd and Amīr Amīrān 'Umar came out to him and he took over the citadel from them and stayed there for a number of days.

(Then) sultan Toghrīl parted from him at Rayy and set out until he joined Ay-Aba and Rūs in Dāmghān. Atabeg Muẓaffar al-Dīn Qizil-Arslan remained in Rayy for a few days and then left the city. When he left (Rayy) Īnanch Maḥmūd and (Īnanch) Khatun also accompanied him as far as Sāwa (where) (Īnanch) Khatun sought his permission to take a rest in Sarjahān and he complied with it. He (Qizil-Arslan) set out towards Hamadān and stayed there for some time.

When Qizil-Arslan set out from Rayy and the news of his departure from it reached Hamadān, (f.99b)
T.p.176 sultan Toghrīl returned (to Rayy) after launching an attack against those territories of the heretics (malāḥida, i.e., Bāṭinīs) which were around Dāmghān and Gird-Kūh. He devastated the territories, looted

them and killed everyone he found there and then returned to Rayy. The lord of Abhar, Bahā' al-Dīn Sharaf al-Dawla and the sons of Qufshūd⁷³ who were the lords of (the regions) of Zanjān, and the lord of Marāgha also joined him. When atabeg Muẓaffar al-Dīn Qizil-Arslan heard this news, he went on his way and fled from Hamadān.

Ay-Aba and Rūs had taken a promise from sultan Toghril that Īnanch Maḥmūd would be with him on the same basis as that on which his father atabeg Nuṣrat al-Dīn Pahlawān used to be. So he (the sultan) fulfilled the promise with them.

Īnanch Maḥmūd and his brother Amīr Amīrān 'Umar escaped from their uncle (Qizil), returned to the sultan and joined him at Hamadān.

When atabeg Muẓaffar al-Dīn Qizil-Arslan reached Āzarbā Ījān, he wrote a letter to the honourable palace (of the caliph) in which he said: "I am a mamlūk and a son of a mamlūk of this great empire. I have been trying to secure the favourable opinion of the commander of the Faithful for occasions like the present one. Now we are in a very difficult situation."⁷⁴ Our affairs have led us to the state of which the commander of the Faithful is aware. Some of our soldiers who threw off (the bonds) of loyalty and inclined towards treachery and harshness have betrayed us and have joined hands with Rukn al-Dīn Toghril. As long as the base of the dissension

is not rooted out, it will lead matters to a situation where they will be beyond control⁷⁵ and the helpers and subjects of the empire will be helpless (f.100a) in the face of it. So if the commander of the Faithful deems it appropriate to equip (and send) troops from Baghdad which the mamlūk will join from Āzarbā Ījān, it will sap the strength of the enemy. (Moreover) the (entire) country of Iraq will return under the (authority) of the supporters of the empire in which the exalted orders will prevail as they (already) prevail in Baghdad and all the out-lying regions." So they (the caliph and his amīrs) complied with his request. The commander of the Faithful equipped an army on which, it was reported, he spent a sum of 600,000 dīnārs from a well-filled treasury (khazānat al-ma'mūra) and made wazīr Jalāl al-Dīn b. Yūnus⁷⁶ commander over this army.

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He (the wazīr) came out from Baghdad in the year 583 and they (the troops) set out in the direction of Hamadān in accordance with the promise of atabeg Muẓaffar al-Dīn Qizil-Arslan that he would join them (there). But the coming of atabeg Muẓaffar al-Dīn Qizil-Arslan to them was delayed. Wazīr Jalāl al-Dīn Yūnus underestimated the strength of sultan Toghrīl and said: "What need is there (to wait) for atabeg Muẓaffar al-Dīn Qizil-Arslan? We will march on our own and take Hamadān." So he departed from Kirmānshāh (Qirmīsīn) making for Hamadān and

encamped at Dāy-Marg.⁷⁷ Sultan Toghrīl came out from Hamadān. He had with him all the amīrs of Iraq and Īnanch Maḥmūd who had with him the troops of (his father) atabeg Pahlawān. Both the armies met each other and a battle ensued between them which caused the wisps (of the hairs of the mothers) to turn white (in grief for their sons), destroyed the lines of the regiments and of the troops of horsemen and filled the battle-ground with those slain from both armies.

On the left wing of wazīr Jalāl al-Dīn (f.100b)⁷⁸ was amīr Maḥmūd b. Tarjam al-Iwā'ī, who had bands of the Turcomans and Kurds with him. (But) he abandoned his position in the army of Baghdad (on the basis) of a secret agreement (muwāṭa'a) with sultan Toghrīl.⁷⁹ When amīr Maḥmūd b. Tarjam fled, the rest of the troops also withdrew towards Qirmīsīn. Wazīr Jalāl al-Dīn stood firm in the centre (of the army). Those of his special ghulāms who were with him in the centre fought a fierce battle in front of him till late afternoon. Then sultan Toghrīl himself came to him and said to him: "Your army has been routed and nobody has remained with you save these ghulāms. So do not kill yourself and those with you." He (Toghrīl) commanded a group of the amīrs, who had come to him and they carried him (the wazīr) to the tent which had been pitched for him. Then the army of (the wazīr) returned to Baghdad and sultan

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Toghrīl went to Hamadān.⁸⁰

When the troops reached back to Baghdad, the imām al-Nāṣir li dīn Allāh, the commander of the Faithful, embarked on equipping them once again and removing their faults. He took out a great quantity of equipment, enormous arms and tremendous riches, the like of which had never been known before in the possession of anybody except the honourable dīwān. He made amīr Mujāhid al-Dīn Khālīṣ al-Khāṣṣ commander over these (troops).

So he (amīr Mujāhid al-Dīn) set out from Baghdad in the remaining part of the year. When he approached Hamadān and sultan Toghrīl who was (already) there learnt how great the army (of Baghdad) was and that (this time) the commander over them (the troops of Baghdad) was a man of fresh zeal and great strength and that they had marched towards him with hearts full of rancour (against him) and with firm intentions to endure (any hardship), (f.101a) he departed from Hamadān in the direction of Iṣfahān. So the army of Baghdad entered Hamadān and stayed there for a number of days. Then atabeg Muẓaffar al-Dīn Qizīl-Arslan (also) joined them (there) and they received him, bestowed honour upon him and delivered the orders of the commander of the Faithful mawlānā al-Nāṣir li dīn Allāh to him about showing regard to him and assigning him the authority as nā'ib of the commander of the Faithful, mawlānā

al-Nāṣir li dīn Allāh. They addressed him as Malik Naṣīr Amīr al-Mu'minīn. (Moreover they told him) that they had been commissioned to strengthen him and that the army would comply with his advice, would carry out his orders and (would be) obedient to him. When the hājibs brought something out of it (? sic),⁸¹ he would kiss the ground several times. They offered him hospitality in the tent of Mujāhid al-Dīn Khālīṣ and bestowed precious robes of honour upon him.

T.p.179 As for sultan Toghrīl, he departed from Iṣfahān towards Āzarbāījān and made an alliance with 'Izz al-Dīn Ḥasan b. Qipchaq. So their troops were strengthened. He (Ḥasan b. Qipchaq) had 50,000 Turcomans under him. They made for Ushnu,⁸² Urmiya,⁸³ Khuy and Salmās. They devastated these territories and caused disturbance there.

Then atabeg Muḏaffar al-Dīn Qizīl-Arslan returned from Hamadān (in pursuit of Toghrīl). (By that time) he (Qizīl) had made peace with his nephew Īnanch Maḥmūd and he (Īnanch Maḥmūd) had joined him while he (Qizīl) was still at Hamadān. His (Īnanch's) mother Īnanch Khatun had come too. Atabeg Muḏaffar al-Dīn Qizīl-Arslan had married her and consummated the marriage with her at Hamadān.⁸⁴ Īnanch Khatun stayed behind at Hamadān.

Atabeg Muḏaffar al-Dīn Qizīl-Arslan set out and met sultan Toghrīl (f.101b) and the Turcomans.

They had plundered those territories. So he (Qizil) made preparations against them and appointed his nephew amir Abū Bakr b. atabeg Pahlawān as the commander of the vanguard of (his army) sending with him the amirs of Iraq; (they were) the amir bār, Nūr al-Dīn Qara and Sirāj al-Dīn Qaymaz, the lord of Rayy. They (the vanguard) met the Turcomans and prevented them from setting up the battle lines. They struck blows against them and drove them away. They killed a large number of their men and plundered their tents and livestock. The army (of Qizil-Arslan) acquired from them a great amount of spoils and tremendous riches. 'Izz al-Dīn Ḥasan and sultan Toghrīl fled until they reached Karkhānī,⁸⁵ the citadel of Ḥasan b. Qipchaq near (the river) Zāb.⁸⁶ (From there) they sent a message to the commander of the Faithful, al-Nāṣir li dīn Allāh and asked him to forgive the mistake of sultan Toghrīl in having fought against wazir Jalāl al-Dīn b. Yūnus, (saying to him): "He (Toghrīl) was obliged to what he has done; but now he is a mamlūk of the empire and an obedient subject. If the commander of the Faithful prescribes that he should come to show his obeisance, if he is given safe-conduct and is granted something which will sustain him, he will do so. If he is worthy of being a nā'ib in some places, he will obey the exalted orders." He

T.p.180 (Toghrīl) sent his son to Baghdad to be a guarantee

of his loyalty. When he (the sultan's son) reached it (the city) the commander of the Faithful gave orders that the honourable (caliphal) guard (mawkiḇ al-sharīf) should go out to receive him. So they brought him into Baghdad. He had a sword in his hand and (on his shoulder) a tattered shroud. (On entering to the court of the caliph) he kissed the holy threshold. A place was allotted to him in which they put him up. (f.102a) They accorded him a great amount of allowances and presented costly gifts to him. They wrote a letter (in reply) to sultan Toghrīl (telling him) to stay on in his place until he had reorganised his affairs.

The sultan waited until the spring season and then entered (Āzarbā Ījān) with 'Izz al-Dīn Ḥasan b. Qīpchaq, the wālī of Āzarbā Ījān after he (the sultan) had married his sister, had consummated the marriage with her in Karkhānī and had begotten a child from her.

When they were in Āzarbā Ījān, atabeg Muḏaffar al-Dīn Qizīl-Arslan marched towards them. Sultan Toghrīl withdrew (from Āzarbā Ījān) to Hamadān. (At Hamadān) there was a tremendous army of the followers of atabeg Muḏaffar al-Dīn Qizīl-Arslan but they could not prevent (the sultan) from entering the city. (Later however) atabeg Muḏaffar al-Dīn Qizīl-Arslan (himself) came (to Hamadān) in his pursuit and sultan Toghrīl was obliged to give

himself up to atabeg Muḏaffar al-Dīn Qizil-Arslan. He (the sultan) believed because of the blood relationship between them, that he (Qizil) would overlook his mistakes and forgive his offences: that he (Toghril) would (be able to) confide in him (Qizil) as he used to do with his brother atabeg Pahlawān: that he (Toghril) would have no share in administering the affairs (of the sultanate) except his symbolic recognition: that he was the sultan and he (Qizil) would rule with absolute authority all over the countries and would have despotic powers. But he (Qizil) did not do that. He seized him and confined him to a citadel in Āzarbā ījān⁸⁷ near the town of Tabriz.⁸⁸ The wālī of this citadel was one of the followers of atabeg Muḏaffar al-Dīn Qizil-Arslan. Atabeg Qizil-Arslan remained at

T.p.181 Hamadān and all the territories of sultan Toghril came under his sway. He stayed there for some period of time.

(f.102b) Īnanch Khatun was also accompanying him (during these campaigns) but he did not pay any attention to her. He was fond of associating with ghulāms and drinking wine and would only occasionally come to his senses. His deeds provoked her anger. So she incited some of her ghulāms who came to him while he was drunk and killed him in his bed. The next day his (men) asked him to ride out, but he did not (answer). So they went in to see him but

found him killed.⁸⁹

When amīr Abū Bakr b. atabeg Pahlawān learnt about the murder of his uncle, he rode out at night and set out (from Hamadān) to Āzarbā ījān and entered Nakhchiwān. Zāhida Khatun, the wife of atabeg Pahlawān was staying there. The citadel of Alanja⁹⁰ was situated near to Nakhchiwān where atabeg Pahlawān and his father atabeg Eldigüz had stored the revenues collected from Iraq and Āzarbā ījān during his (? their) reign. The affairs of the citadel and everything stored there were under the control of Zāhida Khatun. Amīr Abū Bakr had been reared in her lap and he was like a son for her. So when amīr Abū Bakr arrived in Nakhchiwān she let him enter it, summoned the wālī of the town and told him that he (Abū Bakr) was the lord of those territories and that he (the wālī) was (acting) on his behalf. She (also) summoned the wālī of the citadel of Alanjā and told him (too) that he (Abū Bakr) was the lord of the citadel. She took solemn oaths from him (the wālī) for him (Abū Bakr).

When amīr Abū Bakr obtained this support, he rode out towards Ganja. The amīr in charge there came out to him and surrendered the town to him. Then he sent him back to the town and made him deputy on his behalf. He (then) kept on marching from one town to another capturing them until he had taken the whole of Āzarbā ījān and Arrān and

the troops gathered around (f. 103a) him and he attained the place of his father and grandfather.⁹¹

T.p.182 As for the affairs of sultan Toghrīl, he lasted two years in the citadel as captive. In the vicinity of that citadel there was one amīr Maḥmūd b. Sanā-Oghlu,⁹² a man from the Turcomans. He used to be in the service of atabeg Pahlawān. When he learnt that the nephews of atabeg Muẓaffar al-Dīn Qizīl-Arslan and their mother had killed him by mutual intrigue, it shocked him, grieved him, weakened him and sickened him. So he employed artifice and used every trick until he and the wālī of the citadel agreed and released sultan Toghrīl from the citadel after he gave them his promise that amīr Maḥmūd would be (his) amīr bār and the wālī of the citadel would become (his) amīr ḥajīb (chief ḥājīb).

When sultan (Toghrīl) escaped from the citadel, he made for Tabrīz to capture it. But its (inhabitants) did not surrender it to him. So he stayed on around it for a few days until he had put his affairs in order and gathered around him about 500 horsemen. (By that time), amīr Abū Bakr had learnt about his escape and that he was staying around Tabrīz. So he (Abū Bakr) rode out and went in his (Toghrīl's) pursuit. But he flew from him and made for Iraq. When he reached Zanjān, the sons of Qufshūd, the Turcomans who had captured it and were staying there, came out to him and joined him. Qutlugh Īnanch

Maḥmūd and his brother Amīr Amīrān ‘Umar and their mother (Īnanch Khatun) were in Rayy (at this moment) and they had the troops of Iraq with them.

Sultan Toghrīl left for Hamadān. These three persons (i.e. Īnanch Maḥmūd, his brother Amīr Amīrān ‘Umar and their mother) united and proceeded from Rayy in pursuit of the sultan. The sultan fled towards Qazwīn where there was Nūr al-Dīn Qara. He came out to him with a violent (khashn) army and joined him. The sultan stayed (f.103b) on the outskirts of Qazwīn.

Īnanch Maḥmūd and all his troops came to an agreement and set out towards the sultan. He (Īnanch Maḥmūd) had 15,000 horsemen with him (consisting of) noble men and notable stalwarts. They were sure that sultan Toghrīl would not be able to withstand him.

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When both the armies met each other and both the groups faced each other, sultan Toghrīl took a firm stand with the same number of the troops he had with him, which numbered about 3,000 horsemen. He lined them up in proper order and made every group of them stand in the position he had fixed for them. Īnanch Maḥmūd had (already) lined up his army. They were adorned like peacocks. When the sun rose on them, the pupils of the eyes were dazzled by it and the horizons turned bright.

When the steps of both the armies approached

each other, sultan Toghrīl attacked the band of Īnanch Maḥmūd in person. He (Īnanch) was in the centre of the army and had beside him his own ghulāms and the ghulāms of his father. He (Toghrīl) disrupted their ranks and shook their feet from their positions. When the (troops) which were placed on the right and left wings (of the army) of the followers of Īnanch Maḥmūd saw that he had fled, they all also ran away. They disbanded from their positions like the scattering of a necklace of which the thread has broken. They made it a defeat in which flags fell headlong. The valleys and hillocks were filled with their (routed) bands and they bent their shoulders before the sultan with blows which split skulls in two and gave souls deadly poison to drink. None of them could escape him except those with very fast horses and those who were near a stronghold or a mountain (to take shelter).⁹³ He (the sultan) acquired a (great amount of) riches (f. 104a) from them which were innumerable and abundant.⁹⁴ After the defeat everyone who was able to return, returned to him (Īnanch). Īnanch Maḥmūd reached Āzarbā Ījān⁹⁵ and sultan Toghrīl made for Hamadān.

Īnanch Khatun had hidden herself at Sarjahān. The major portion of the treasures of atabeg Pahlawān was stored there. She seized it and then wrote a letter to sultan Toghrīl (saying to him): "I have always been well-disposed towards you and have been

feeling hatred for all those who have showed enmity towards you (whoever they are) near or far. Now when Allāh has made you the ruler of the territories of your father, I am one of your servants and slave girls. I have a great amount of treasures and tremendous riches. So if you accept me to be in attendance on you as one of your slave girls by contract of marriage and make a solemn oath to keep this contract, I will come to Hamadān to make obeisance to you and will hand over everything I have in my possession in the way of treasures and riches, gradually, one article after another." So the sultan agreed to what she wished and complied with what she sought for. He wrote an undertaking on it for her and sent (to her) amīr 'Izz al-Dīn Faraj, the khādim on his behalf. He (Faraj) stayed with her for a number of days until she equipped herself perfectly and made (for Hamadān) to perform obeisance to the sultan.

When she approached Hamadān, he (the sultan) ordered all the amīrs and prominent ladies to go out (of Hamadān) and receive her. So they went out to receive her and she entered Hamadān with great preparations and in a most dignified manner. The day after her arrival, the qādī, the notables, all the amīrs and the leaders of the army were summoned and she was bound by the contract of marriage (with the sultan) in the presence of all of these people.⁹⁶

She stayed with him in Hamadān for some time. Then death approached her (f.104b) and she died at Hamadān.

When she died, (her son) Īnanch Maḥmūd thought that sultan Toghrīl had killed her. He felt terror in his heart and was afraid that sultan Toghrīl might do the same with him as he had done with his mother. He refrained from going and making obeisance to sultan Toghrīl after having intended to perform it. He then joined the troops of the Khwārazm-Shāh Tekish. The amīrs of Iraq had already set out to join him (Tekish) before the arrival of Īnanch Maḥmūd to them. So the amīrs returned and parted from Īnanch Maḥmūd. Nūr al-Dīn Qur'ān-khwān⁹⁷ went to Khwārazm to perform obeisance to Khwārazm-Shāh 'Alā' al-Dīn Tekish b. Il-Arslan; amīr Sirāj al-Dīn Qaymaz went to Khūzistān and from there to Baghdad while Ibn al-amīr bār fell into the bonds of handcuffs.

Īnanch Maḥmūd made for Āzarbā ījān and encamped near Tabrīz. He had a group of his father's ghulāms and his brother Amīr Amīrān 'Umar with him. They stayed there and sought to enter Tabrīz. Nobody prevented them from entering. When they entered it (the city), their army was strengthened and they set out towards (their half-brother) amīr Abū Bakr, who was at Nakhchiwān. He went out (to fight) them and they met in a battle, in which swords were cut into pieces and lances were broken off. Some of

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them withstood against others until midday. Amīr Abū Bakr gave them their just deserts and they flew from him, suffering an ignominious defeat. He went in their pursuit until he took a group of them captive.⁹⁸ He (however) missed (capturing) his two brothers. Īnanch Maḥmūd fled to Iraq wandering about and being driven away;⁹⁹ while Amīr Amīrān 'Umar fled (f.105a) to Shirwān, (where) the Shirwān-Shāh¹⁰⁰ received him, offered him hospitality, honoured him, married his daughter to him and befriended him by (providing) him with riches. He presented him with horses, which numbered about 100, and weapons and everything else he needed, and equipped him. So he (Amīr Amīrān) set out towards the ruler of the Georgians who at that time was a woman.¹⁰¹ She ordered her commanders and her troops to give the guest a hospitable reception and fulfil his wishes. They received him in a dignified fashion and showed regard to what was due to his forefathers and their high reputation. They honoured him, entertained him and brought him everything he needed in terms of provisions, fodder, dīnārs and precious clothes. (Then) they asked him about the reason for his calling upon them. So he said (to them): "When we dismounted in the territory of my brother amīr Abū Bakr in a defeated state and we took refuge under his protection seeking shelter (under him), he neglected to fulfil his duty which he owed to

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us. A sense of honour and blood-relationship should have prompted him to restore our respect, to return with us towards our enemy and fight against him until we had re-captured our domains from which the enemy had expelled us, and then we would have been in Iraq and he would have remained in Āzarbā Ījān just as he is. But (instead) he attacked us with his men, scattered us away in the lands in a routed state and ousted us from our territories. (Now) I have come to you to strengthen me with (your) men and send (your) troops with me, so I may meet him face to face, fight him, take the field against him and overpower him. When I subdue him and drive him away from the domains, then the lands will be at your disposal and you can take from them what you wish. That will be yours without any other claimant wanting a share in that."

They (the Georgians) agreed to his word, complied with (it) and started (f.105b) to gather troops and equip them to help him. They wrote to the Shirwān-Shāh (Manūchihr) who had (by that time) entered into their allegiance and sent the tribute (kharāj) (of his lands) to them to prepare to set out with him. A group of the troops of Arrān also joined him (Amīr Amīrān) from amongst those who had the ambition to be with him in a close relationship and in a distinguished place, if fortune was favourable to him. A band of the Turcomans also

assembled and set out towards him. So they all made a coalition and marched towards amīr Abū Bakr b. atabeg Muḥammad Pahlawān with troops numerous enough to fill the earth and irradiate the air. At this time the earth trembled with the steps of soldiers and the sky split open because of the spreading of dust and the rising of dirt. When they approached Paylaqān, amīr Abū Bakr came out, gathered his auxiliary soldiers (ajnād), summoned his troops (‘asākir), encamped in front of them and prepared for the battle.

When both the parties met, the voices of the warriors rose and troops fell on each other and men (on men), the troops (of Amīr Amīrān ‘Umar) attacked amīr Abū Bakr and displaced him from his position. They caused a group of his stalwarts and the most courageous of his men to be thrown onto the ground¹⁰² and to lose their lives. Amīr (Abū Bakr) sought to escape from the battle, but he could not manage that, because of his troops being hemmed in by the troops of the Georgians and the Muslims from all sides. So he stood fast and a group of his ghulāms also withstood, who had encircled him and were fighting near him. But they failed in that. Some of them were killed and a small number of them fled. Amīr Abū Bakr fell amongst those slain. One of the ghulāms (f.106a) of his brother (Amīr Amīrān ‘Umar) tilted at him (Abū Bakr) in order to kill him since he did

not recognise who he was. So he (Abū Bakr) made himself known to him and said (to him): "I am so and so." The ghulām dismounted from his horse and made him mount (his horse). The ghulām himself rode on a side horse he had with him and then carried him away, pretending to those who were with him that he was carrying a captive to his master. When he (the ghulām) emerged from the battlefield, he took him (Abū Bakr) away until he brought him to Paylaqān. He (Abū Bakr) waited there until those who had escaped of the scattered remnants of the army joined him. Then he went in defeat in the direction of Nakhchiwān.

As for his brother Amīr Amīrān 'Umar, he returned having with him the troops of the Georgians and Muslims until he reached Ganja and encamped around it. He asked (the inhabitants) to surrender it to him. But they said (to him): "Had you come to us on your own, we would have surrendered the city to you. Now that you have these bands of infidel troops in your company, we cannot hand over the city to you, because of the fear of treachery on the part of the infidels with you and their (possible) seizing control of it (the city). (After which) they will take us and our children captive and will slay our men and our kinsfolk. And if this borderpost (thaghr) falls into their hands, then none of the towns of the lands of Islam will

remain; they will come under their sway. They will destroy the foundation of Islam and will cover it with darkness after there has been light upon it." So they did not surrender it (the city) to him.

A group of the defeated amīrs at the time of battle had (also) taken shelter in Ganja. When they realised that they were unable to capture it by force and that they did not have the strength to conquer it by fighting, Amīr Amīrān 'Umar corresponded with them (the inhabitants) and said to them: "Surrender the city to me, and I will go into it alone and I will drive away this enemy from you." They said (to him in reply): "We accept this suggestion and extend our loyalty to you." So he told the Georgians about the communication which had taken place between him and them (the inhabitants of Ganja) (f.106b) and said to them (the Georgians): "When I hold sway over Ganja, your orders will prevail there and its tribute (kharāj) will be carried to you and its revenue will be your due. If we fail to capture it by force and depart from here, they (the inhabitants) will invite my brother and will surrender the city to him. And it will be more useful for you to have me in it rather than my brother." They said (to him in reply): "(We will accept it) on one condition and that is that some of our amīrs enter (the city) with you and make you mount the throne of the sultanate there." So he

corresponded with the inhabitants of the city about what they (the Georgians) had suggested. They (the inhabitants) said (to him): "It is not objectionable if some of the (Georgians) from the danger of whose deception we are safe and from whose treachery and evil we are protected, enter (the city with you).

When the day on which they (the inhabitants) had promised to surrender to him came, he (Amīr Amīrān) rode out. He had with him his ghulāms and the amīrs of his troops. From the Georgian side, three of their amīrs entered with him accompanied by a troop of their men until they brought him to the palace of the sultan and made him mount the throne of the sultanate. They bound him by solemn oaths, while he was sitting on the throne, that he would not conceal any treachery against them and would support them secretly and openly and that he would join them in whatever they proposed and would not disagree with what they suggested. So he gave them solemn oaths on this and then they went out of the city. On the second day after his entry to the city he mounted his horse and went out towards them. The army of the Georgians departed from around Ganja. He (himself) lived for (only) 22 days after their departure and then he passed away.¹⁰³

(After his death) the inhabitants of Ganja took control of the city and sent words to amīr Abū Bakr to hurry up, so they could hand over the

city to him as his brother had died. So he departed from (f.107a) Nakhchiwān and hastened towards Ganja¹⁰⁴ and took over the city, mended its affairs and assigned it to his son amīr¹⁰⁵ and then returned to Nakhchiwān.

The Georgians made preparations and came out when they heard that Amīr Amīrān 'Umar b. Pahlawān had died and that his brother amīr Abū Bakr had taken over the city, until they reached Ganja and encamped around it. Amīr¹⁰⁶ (b. Abū T.p.189 Bakr) came out and attacked them while they were setting up camp and were inattentive. He killed 300 men from them and returned to the city.

When the Georgians realised that they could not obtain anything from Ganja, they departed and made for Nakhchiwān. So amīr Abū Bakr left it for Tabrīz. The Georgians attacked it. But Zāhida Khatun made peace with them on the basis of certain things which she gave to them and they returned to their own territories after they had devastated villages, filled their hands with spoils, taken captives, the number of whom no one can count except Allāh, to Whom be praise. They drove away (with them) all the animals of the towns, marching on the regions, capturing citadel after citadel and looting city after city until they had taken most of the citadels, levied tribute (kharāj) on Nakhchiwān and Paylaqān and held sway over Duwīn

and its citadels. Then they rode out and marched on Marand and took it by force. They killed the men and took (their) children captive. They went on behaving like this while amīr Abū Bakr was extremely occupied with immoral acts and had given himself up to wine-drinking and associating with ghulāms. He had forbidden the hājibs and amīrs to give him any information about the affairs of the Georgians.

When the Georgians saw that they (f.107b) were not facing any opponent who defended (his territories) and there was no one to stop them from capturing the cities, they became ambitious and began carrying out a swift march on the cities and capturing citadels until they had taken the entire regions of Arrān. Nothing remained behind of these regions for the Muslims except Ganja alone. They (the Georgians) captured all its outskirts and citadels and devastated . Shamkūr¹⁰⁷ and Paylaqān which belonged to Arrān and destroyed Marand as we have mentioned before. They took Ardabīl by force and acted there as they had acted at Marand.¹⁰⁸

As for sultan Rukn al-Dīn Toghrīl b. Arslan-Shāh, T.p.190 when he put Qutlugh İnanç Mahmūd to flight away from his presence and married (İnanç) Khatun, the mother of İnanç Mahmūd, the whole of Iraq came under his sway. He made for Rayy, which was occupied by the followers of the Khwārazm-Shāh 'Alā' al-Dīn Tekish

b. Il-Arslan. They had seized the control of the citadel and the city. Sultan Toghrīl captured the city on the day of his attacking it. He besieged the citadel and brought down the Khwārazmī (troops) who had occupied it, assuring them safe-conduct which they had sought from him. When they descended (from the citadel), he allowed them to depart from the city. But then he broke the promise (of safe-conduct) with them and went in their pursuit, seizing from them everything they had in their possession. He killed a considerable number of them while the rest of them ran away. He captured Iṣfahān and turned it into an iqṭā' for amīr 'Izz al-Dīn Faraj, the khādim. He (Toghrīl) remained in Iraq having no rival (for power) there and facing no obstacle (to the exercise of) his rule and authority.¹⁰⁹

As for Īnanch Maḥmūd, when he fled from his brother Abū Bakr, he reached Zanjān. He kept on fleeing until he reached Simnān.¹¹⁰ (f.108a) The amīrs of Iraq had taken refuge with the Khwārazm-Shāh 'Alā' al-Dīn Tekish b. Il-Arslan and had joined his army. When Īnanch Maḥmūd reached the army of Khwārazm-Shāh 'Alā' al-Dīn Tekish at Simnān, who were the vanguard of Khwārazm-Shāh 'Alā' al-Dīn Tekish's army, he stayed with them until Khwārazm-Shāh 'Alā' al-Dīn Tekish reached Dāmghān. He (Īnanch Maḥmūd) departed (from there) by himself and the amīrs of Iraq who were with him, departed

on their own. He made for Dāmghān to make obeisance to the Khwārazm-Shāh 'Alā' al-Dīn Tekish. (On arriving there) he (Īnanch Maḥmūd) appeared before his throne and kissed the ground in front of him. He then informed him of his state of affairs and what had befallen him. The Khwārazm-Shāh 'Alā' al-Dīn Tekish made promises to him, treated him with kindness, gave him a hospitable reception and offered him (presents) until he had satisfied him. He gave orders and bestowed precious robes of honour upon him and on all his followers who were with him.¹¹¹ He returned to Simnān with Khwārazm-Shāh 'Alā' al-Dīn Tekish.

T.p.191 When sultan Rukn al-Dīn Toghrīl learnt about the advance of Khwārazm-Shāh 'Alā' al-Dīn Tekish towards Rayy, he gathered his troops and followers and set out in the direction of Rayy. 'Izz al-Dīn Faraj remained behind him at Iṣfahān and the sons of Qufshūd at Zanjān. Khwārazm-Shāh 'Alā' al-Dīn Tekish overtook him (Toghrīl), before the arrival of his troops from Iṣfahān and Zanjān and reached Khuwār.¹¹²

A man called Amīn al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Zanjānī who was the nā'ib of the mawālī (? wālī) at Rayy talked to me and said: "When Khwārazm-Shāh 'Alā' al-Dīn Tekish reached Khuwār, he stayed there for two days. (f.108b) His chief ḥājib Shihāb al-Dīn Mas'ūd b. al-Ḥusayn was also accompanying him.

Mas'ūd b. al-Ḥusayn corresponded with sultan Rukn al-Dīn Toghrīl secretly and said to him: "Although I am a mamlūk of sultan 'Alā' al-Dīn Tekish and may have been nurtured with his beneficence and have one of his protégés, it does not prevent me from giving you a piece of advice, seeing that your (? his) family has a right over every Turkish soldier who has a cap on his head because of the fact that they are sultans and sons of sultans. Their authority prevails over all territories and they have gained possession of all cities. The people, one and all, render their services to them. I suggest to you that you should depart from Rayy to Sāwa and should stay there. Then you should begin a correspondence with sultan 'Alā' al-Dīn Tekish to make peace. Then we will assume a mediatory position between you and him. The most he might ask you to do, is that you should give up Rayy to him so that it should become evident to the people that he (Tekish) has regained his prestige and honour in the face of the kings of the infidels of these regions; as they know that Rayy (previously) belonged to him, but then his followers left (the city) and others gained mastery over it. He has no other desire except this. So if you withdrew from Rayy in his favour, he will be content with that and will return to Khwārazm and will leave his son at Rayy. If his son is at Rayy, he (the son) will be at

T.p.192 your command and will carry out your orders and will not do what you forbid him to do. (Moreover) when sultan (Tekish) has restored his authority (over Rayy), bloodshed will be avoided and faces will be saved."¹¹³

When sultan Rukn al-Dīn Toghrīl read the letter of the chief hājib Shihāb al-Dīn Mas'ūd, he summoned the great amīrs from amongst (f.109a) his followers and told them about it. Amīr Nūr al-Dīn Qara who was the lord of Qazwīn advised them and said to the sultan: "This is a sound suggestion. We must accept it and depart to Sāwa and stay there until our troops from Iṣfahān and Zanjān join us. If Khwārazm-Shāh 'Alā' al-Dīn Tekish comes in our pursuit, we can stand in front of him in the passes which are situated between Sāwa and Mushkaway¹¹⁴ and can resist him with vigour and strength. If we are victorious (we can return to Rayy), if not, we can retreat towards Iṣfahān. If we make for Iṣfahān and return to Hamadān, he (Tekish) will not be able to leave his own territories and follow our tracks from one place to another. At this juncture peace can be made between us and him on the basis of certain conditions by which the welfare of the Muslims can be safeguarded." The sultan said (in reply): "This would be an excellent suggestion, if I myself could agree to it. But I would not like to see people talking about me and saying that I

fled from this man (Tekish). Moreover (in this case) the Khwārazmīs will enter Rayy and will hold sway there over its inhabitants. (Although) they are people who have showed their love to me and have gone to great lengths in sticking to me and following me. The Khwārazmīs would hold sovereignty over them and would treat them unjustly and would oppress them, whereas I would not do that."

(After saying this) he (sultan Toghrīl) got up and left Rayy and encamped at bāb Khurāsān.¹¹⁵

Some of his soldiers went out (of the town) to
accompany him. Sultan 'Alā' al-Dīn Tekish reached.....¹¹⁶

T.p.193 Sultan Rukn al-Dīn Toghrīl mounted his horse and moved to a farsakh's distance from the town. He and the Iraqīs, whose commander was Qutlugh Īnanch Maḥmūd, faced each other. When they came into his (Toghrīl's) sight, (f.109b) he attacked them, but none of his soldiers followed him onto the offensive except for 60 of them, all of whom were his ghulāms. They made an enclosure and circled round him. He attacked (the enemy) seeking (to reach) the centre of (his army), but one of them aimed an arrow at him which hit him in the eye and he fell to the ground. Qutlugh Īnanch Maḥmūd came to him and he (Toghrīl) said to him (Qutlugh): "O, Maḥmūd! Pick me up and take me away (with you). It is better for you and for me." But he (Qutlugh) did not comply with his request. He dismounted (from his horseback) and cut off his

(Toghrīl's) head. They carried his head to sultan 'Alā' al-Dīn Tekish, who was not pleased with what they had done to him. He said (to them): "If you had brought him alive, I would have liked that better and my wishes would have been fulfilled by that. But his (Toghrīl's) fate went against him.

When sultan Toghrīl b. Arslan-Shāh made preparations for the battle, the amīrs asked him where their meeting point to rejoin him should be in case they lost the battle. He said to them: "As for myself, my meeting-point is being killed under the hooves of the horses." And what he said actually took place.

It is reported that on the day of the battle he (Toghrīl), brought a considerable number of the (enemies') horsemen to the ground and fought fiercely, the like of which had never been heard of before. But he whom Allāh leaves (helpless) can achieve nothing. This was ordained in the (Divine) book.

Sultan 'Alā' al-Dīn Tekish sent his (Toghrīl's) head to Baghdad, while his body was carried away and buried in the tomb of his namesake, the first (Saljūq) sultan Rukn al-Dīn Abū Ṭālib Toghrīl b. Mīkā'īl b. Saljūq in Rayy in his Friday mosque. This took place on the 9th of the month of Rabī' I in the year 590.¹¹⁷

On the death of sultan Toghrīl (f.110a) b. Arslan-Shāh b. Toghrīl b. Muḥammad Tapar b. Malik-

T.p.194 Shāh b. Alp-Arslan b. Dā'ūd b. Mīkā'īl b. Saljūq, who was the last of the Saljūq maliks, the (burning) embers of the house of Saljūq became (cold) ashes, blown away by the wind.

Allāh (alone) has mastery over everything.

THE ACCOUNT OF THE SALJŪQ MALIKS AND SULTANS
AND THE LENGTH OF THEIR REIGNS FROM THE TIME
WHEN THEY OBTAINED MASTERY OVER THE LANDS
UNTIL THEIR AUTHORITY COLLAPSED

The Saljūq amīrs crossed from Nūr Bukhārā to Khurāsān in the year 426. They were Yabghu, Chagrī Beg Dā'ūd and Toghrīl Beg Muḥammad, the sons of Mīkā'īl b. Saljūq, and Qutlumush Isrā'īl b. Saljūq. They encamped in the vicinity of Nasā. The Turcomans in Khurāsān served them and joined up with them. On the first Friday of (the month of) Rabī' I in the year 428, sultan Mas'ūd b. Maḥmūd b. Sebük-Tegin equipped the commander of his army (for a battle against them), but they defeated him.

The battle at Dandānqān was the event which transferred the power and sultanate to the Saljūqs. In this battle Chagrī Beg whose name was Dā'ūd.....¹¹⁸ This battle took place at (a place called) Dandānqān on Thursday, 8th of Ramaḍān in the year 431.

Sultān al-Mu'azzam Rukn al-Dīn Abū Ṭālib Toghrīl b. Mīkā'īl b. Saljūq died on 8th Ramaḍān

T.p.195 in the year 455. He had no offspring. (f.110b) His nephew Sultān al-Mu'azzam 'Aḍud al-Dawla Alp-Arslan took his place upon his death.

Alp-Arslan was assassinated on Saturday in the last days of Rabī' I in the year 465 on the outskirts of Samarqand. After him his son Sultān al-Mu'azzam Jalāl al-Dawla Malik-Shāh came to power. He died on Tuesday on 29th Jumādā I in the year 487.¹¹⁹

Sultan Malik-Shāh was succeeded by Berk-Yaruq, Muḥammad and Sanjar. The authority was divided among them over both the Iraqs, Khurāsān, Āzarbā Ijān, Fārs, Kirmān, Māzandarān, Diyārbakr and Syria.

After the death of sultan Muḥammad (Tapar), his sons ruled one after another, exercising their authority under the supervision of Sultān al-Mu'azzam Mu'izz al-Dīn Abu'l-Hārith Sanjar.

Sultan Sanjar remained in power in Khurāsān, Khwārazm and Ghazna and in Transoxiana at recurrent intervals until he passed away at Marw on Tuesday, the 25th of the month of Rabī' I in the year 552.

On the death of sultan Sanjar, the authority of the Saljūqs over the lands of Khurāsān came to an end and in Iraq it remained (merely) a facade without reality. Because (after it) the atabegs dominated them (the Saljūq sultans) until the killing of sultan Toghrīl at Rayy on Thursday on the 9th of the month of Rabī' I in the year (f.111a) 590.

The length of the period from the crossing of

the Saljūqs (to Khurāsān) till the killing of sultan Rukn al-Dīn Toghrīl b. Arslan-Shāh was 164 years, and from their capturing the lands of Khurāsān on the defeat of sultan Mas'ūd b. Maḥmūd b. Sebük-Tegin at Dandānqān 161 years, 4 months and 23 days.

The prosperity of the regions was abundant¹²⁰ because of them and the subjects were inundated with their kindness and generosity. Justice reigned all over the regions and all the subjects were provided with protection.

Khurāsān went to ruin on the death of sultan Sanjar b. Malik-Shāh and Iraq wasted away on the murder of sultan Rukn al-Dīn Toghrīl b. Arslan-Shāh, may the mercy of Allāh, the Almighty be upon them and may He forgive them.

During their reign, justice had filled the centres and the utmost areas (of their realm). The environs and suburbs of (the towns) were guarded. Injustice was eradicated and the wings of oppression were cut down.

Praise be to the One Whose authority never ends.

(f.111b) THE ACCOUNT OF SOME
OF THE MAMLŪKS OF THE SALJŪQS

None of the mamlūks of the caliphs or of (any other) malik attained the position which the mamlūks of the Saljūqs and the sons of their mamlūks gained.

One of them was Qasīm al-Dawla Aq-Sonqur, who was the wālī of Aleppo. After him his son atabeg 'Imād al-Dīn Zangī became the wālī of Syria, Diyār Rabī'a, Diyār Muḍar and Mosul.

Another one of them was Aq-Sonqur al-Aḥmadīlī and his sons who were at Marāgha.

Another one of them was al-Mu'ayyid Ay-Aba and his sons in Khurāsān.

Aq-Sonqur Qasīm al-Dawla captured Aleppo and its outlying regions on the orders of Sultān al-A'zam Jalāl al-Dawla Malik-Shāh. He (Aq-Sonqur) was his mamlūk. Then his (Aq-Sonqur's) sons held sway over Syria until Malik al-Nāṣir Salāh al-Dīn Yūsūf b. Ayyūb became sultan in Egypt and Syria afterwards.

Of them Anūsh-Tegin and his sons established (themselves) in Khwārazm and then in most of the areas.

Atabeg Zahīr al-Dīn Tugh-Tegin and his sons held sway over Damascus and its outlying regions.

Suqmān and his sons ruled over Armenia.

Other mamlūks than those mentioned above who were great, but could not achieve fame were innumerable.

One of their mamlūks was atabeg Eldigūz and his sons who ruled over Iraq and Āzarbā Ījān. This very Eldigūz was the mamlūk of sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Mas'ūd b. Muḥammad Tapar b. Malik-Shāh b. Alp-Arslan b. Dā'ūd b. Mīkā'il b. Saljūq. He installed the son

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of his wife sultan Arslan-Shāh b. Toghrīl b. sultan Muḥammad Tapar b. Malik-Shāh b. Alp-Arslan in the sultanate and he himself became his atabeg, which elevated his status and all the countries submitted to him except Baghdad and its outlying regions.

When Eldigūz passed away, (f.112a) his son Nuṣrat al-Dīn Muḥammad Pahlawān took over the post of atabeg. He was brother to sultan Arslan-Shāh on his mother's side.

When he (Pahlawān) died, his brother on his mother's side (?) Muṣaffar al-Dīn Qizil-Arslan became atabeg. He seized Toghrīl b. Arslan-Shāh b. Toghrīl, put him in fetters and confined him in one of the citadels of Āzarbā Ījān. Then sultan Toghrīl escaped from the prison and captured Iraq.

Upon his (Toghrīl's) murder in the war against Khwārazm-Shāh 'Alā' al-Dīn Tekish b. Il-Arslan in the year 590, the countries were divided among the sons of Pahlawān. They remained so until the reign of sultan Jalāl al-Dīn MNKUBRNY¹²¹ b. sultan 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad who was called Sanjar b. Tekish, until Öz-Beg¹²² withdrew from them to the citadel of Alanja¹²³ and died there. (Upon his death) the reign of the Eldigūz family came to an end completely and forever.¹²⁴

Praise be to (the One Who is)


Eternal and Everlasting

The book came to an end with the praise
of Allāh and His help.

Peace be upon our lord, Muḥammad and his
family.

NOTES

1. Our text puts the deterioration of the relationship between Īnanch and Eldigüz at an earlier point than the other sources. Previously, in any case, we find them on very intimate terms. IA tells us that "Eldigüz wrote letters to Īnanch and showed him gentleness and they both reconciled and swore to be in unity with each other. (XI, 177.) Bun, 297 goes even further and says that Īnanch met Eldigüz in person at Sāwa. Both the sources indicate that it was at this juncture that Eldigüz secured Īnanch's daughter's hand in marriage for his son amīr Pahlāwan. (Cf. the text, 146.)

2. The text has: 
Lit. They will not walk on the carpet for them.

3. He is Muẓaffar al-Dīn Sonqur b. Mawdūd, the ruler of Fārs (543-556/1148-1161) who founded the Salghurid atabeg dynasty which ruled there for 120 years (548-668/1148-1270).

He was the nephew of Boz-Aba, the lord of Fārs (d. 542/1174). For further details see EI^I, art. Salghūrīds, Haig; Dynasties, 125-26.

The name must not be confused with Sonqur, the lord of Zanjān (text, 104, 110).

4. Nish , 77 has the battle near the citadel of Farrazīn. Bun , 298 has it on the outskirts of

Karaj without specifying which of the two Karajs - Karaj of Abū Dulāf or that of Rūdrawar. Raw., 287 has it near a place called FARRHYN (فرحين) most probably Farahān). All these places lay between Isfahān and Hamadān. See LEC, 197-98. From IA., XI, 178 one gets the impression that the battle might have taken place near Sāwa, a place between Hamadān and Rayy. Luther, 132, n. 87 suggests Karaj Abū Dulāf as the most likely spot.

5. IA , XI, 177-78 places this battle under the year 556/1161, which seems more likely, bearing in mind the chronology of the previous events. See appendix I.

6. The text has: **ودارت رحى المنايا على الفريقين**.
Lit. The millstone of death revolved on both the armies.

7. Cf. n. 1 above.

8. For these events see also Nish, 75-7; Bun, 296-300; Raw, 286-87. For some more details about this first battle between Eldigüz and İnanch and the role played by the caliph's wazīr Ibn Hubayra against Eldigüz see IA, XI, 177-79. For a general survey see Luther, 128-36.

9. Here our text seems to shorten the account of the events and omits a very important development:

the peace-agreement between Eldigüz and İnanch after the battle. It has been reported that after the defeat İnanch fled towards Rayy, but Eldigüz and the sultan went in pursuit of him to Rayy and forced him to surrender the city to them. However, afterwards, a peace-treaty was concluded between them according to which Rayy was restored to İnanch, but he was deprived of Sāwa and Jarbādhaqān. After this Eldigüz and the sultan seem to have returned to their centre of power. See Bun, 300; IA, XI, 178-79.

10. A town in the Qūmis district of the province of Khurāsān near the limits of Jurjān. Ist, 206; Haw, 269; Hud, 146; Yaq, I, 623; Fida, 432; Must, 161; LEC, 365; EI^{II}, art. Bistām, Frye.
11. From here onwards to page 152 of our text, the account covers the development which evolved over the period from 561/1165 until the assassination of İnanch probably in 564/1168-69. For a more probable account of these events (text, 147-49) see ns. 13, 15, 16, 21 below and the appendix II.
12. Reigned, 551-67/1156-72. Dynasties, 107.
13. Before asking Il-Arslan for help, İnanch seems to have been in close contact with 'Alā al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. Rustam b. 'Alī b. Shahriyār, the ruler of Māzandarān. Sultan Arslan-Shāh is

reported as having come to Rayy in 561/1165 and at this point Īnanch seems to have taken refuge with the ruler of Māzandarān. See Nish, 78-9; Raw, 292-93. See also Luther, 168-73. For the ruler of Māzandarān, see IA, XI, 207.

14. For this place cf. ^{the} text, p. 5, chapter II, n. 47.

15. Other sources have 'Umar b. 'Alī Bār instead of amīr Pahlawān, which seems more likely. This seems to have taken place in 561/1165. See Nish, 79; Raw, 293.

The assignment of Rayy to amīr Pahlawān would appear to have taken place only after the death of Īnanch as is also evident from a reference in our text, p. 152.

16. This correspondence in all likelihood would seem to have taken place after the first battle between Eldigüz and Īnanch in 556/1161 apparently before the death of amīr Gīrd-Bāzū in 561/1165. For the death of this amīr see Nish, 79; Raw, 292.

17. For a continuation of the situation between the Georgians and Eldigüz see the text, 156-62.

18. The text has

عبارت

The editor suggests: Toghar-Beg, Ayaz-Beg.

19. Cf. the text, 148 above. Sultan Arslan-Shāh was there with the army of Iraq (al-Jibāl).

20. The text offers here some problems. Probably some phrases are missing. The text has:

وعملوا مصاف مع الاتابك الذكران يكون
الامر الذي اخرجهم اعنى الخوارزميين وايانج
عن اتفاق من امراء العراق ولم يكن
الامر كذلك .

The editor suggests muṣāfā (reconciliation, friendship) instead of maṣaff (battle).

21. Here again the account of our text is somewhat incoherent and the author seems to have confused the different events. The more probable and convincing account would seem to be that of Nish and Raw. They have Īnanch with the support of the Khwārazm-Shāh making a descent on Rayy in 562/1166. On hearing about the approach of Eldigüz, he flees in the direction of Abhar and Qazwīn where the Khwārazmīs cause a great deal of plunder and then return in the direction of Khurāsān and Khwārazm. Eldigüz and Arslan-Shāh come to Rayy. (Then probably they set out towards Khurāsān at the summons of Ay-Aba. See the text, 162-64.) Īnanch flees towards Jurjān (our text omits this event). After this probably in early 563/1168 atabeg Eldigüz seems to have returned to Āzarbā Ījān while the sultan stayed at Sāwa (cf. the text, 148).

Then probably in late 563/1168 ‘Umar b. ‘Alī Bār, the lord of Rayy, falls from grace and is

removed from the office by the sultan. The sultan returns to Hamadān and Īnanch availing himself of the opportunity makes another attempt to take the possession of Rayy; this time with the help of the ruler of Māzandarān. (Our text seems to have confused him with the Khwarāzm-Shāh, who did help Īnanch in a previous battle.) Nuṣrat al-Dīn Pahlawān comes to Rayy for a battle against Īnanch, in which, however, he suffers a defeat. This would appear to have taken place in late 563/1168 or at the beginning of 564/1168-69.

Now the scene is set for the last struggle for Rayy in the same year, in which the atabeg Eldigüz lays siege to Rayy, Īnanch is assassinated and the town falls to him. Nish, 79-81; Raw, 293-97. See also IA, XI, 229-30. For a general survey see Luther, 174-83.

22. Our text is probably the only source which has such a detailed and interesting account of the assassination of Īnanch. See also Nish, 81; Bun, 303 (who has his death in 565/1169); Raw, 296; IA, XI, 230.
23. For this see also Nish, 81; Raw, 297. Cf. IA, XI, 229-30, who has 'Umar b. 'Alī Yāgh (most probably 'Alī Bār) instead of Pahlawān.
24. For a continuation see the text, 154-56 and

n. 28 below.

25. Here again our text seems to have confused the chronology. The year of the death of the caliph al-Muqtafī is confirmed by other sources, but the reference to it here is out of place. He probably died a little before the accession of sultan Sulaymān-Shāh to the throne at Hamadān. See appendix I. See also Bun, 289-93; Munt, X, 192; IA, XI, 169.

26. A sea port and oasis in modern Saudi Arabia lying on the coast of the Persian Gulf near Dammām. Yaq, IV, 143; Fida, 99; Must, 137; EI^{II}, art. al-Kaṭīf, Rentz.

27. The text has: وهو قير العين -
Lit. He was cool-eyed; his eyes were cooled.

28. Here again our text seems to have confused the order of the events, but it is probably the only source which provides such a detailed and interesting account of the relationship of the Salghurids of Fārs with atabeg Eldigüz and sultan Arslan-Shāh. Cf. Nish, 78; Raw, 290, whose account although brief give the date of the meeting between Zangī, the atabeg and the sultan and say that it took place in 560/1165 at the pastures of Hazār Thānī (or Khānī), probably a place between Iṣfahān and Shīrāz. For a general survey see Luther, 164-68.

29. See also the text, 156-62, n. 37 below.
30. A city in the province of Arrān to the south of Bardu'a. Ist, 187; Haw, 244; Hud, 161; Yaq, I, 797-98; Fida, 405; Must, 91; LEC, 178.

31. The text has:
 قَدْ رَبَّتْهُمْ الْحُرُوبُ فِي حُجُورِهَا
 وَارْضَعَتْهُمْ التَّجَارِبُ مِنْ شُطُورِهَا -

Lit. Wars had brought them up in their laps and experience had suckled them from their teats.

32. He is Suqmān II b. Ibrāhim b. Suqmān al-Quṭbī of the Shāh-Arman dynasty of Akhlāṭ, the vassals of the Saljūqs.

The founder of the dynasty, Suqmān al-Quṭbī, a mamlūk of Ismā'īl b. Yāqūtī b. Dā'ūd Chaghri Beg took Akhlāṭ in 493/1100 from the Marwānids and ruled until his death in 505/1111.

Suqmān II died in 581/1185 and upon his death the town was seized by Begtimur, one of his mamlūk commanders and the dynasty came to an end. Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, Mir'at al-zamān, (Hyderabad, 1951), VIII, 383, 423; IA, X, 264, 330, 341, XI, 177, 184, 322, 338. For further details see Ibn al-Qalānīsī, The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades, tr. H.A.R. Gibb, 91, 101-5, 114, 116; EI^{II}, art. Akhlāṭ, Minorsky.

For Suqmān's relationship with Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (564-89/1169-93) of the Ayyūbid dynasty of Egypt,

see M.C. Lyons, D.E.P. Jackson, Saladin: The Politics of the Holy War, (Cambridge, 1982), 180, 183, 188, 189, 227, 229.

For the genealogical table of the dynasty see S. Lane-Poole, The Muḥammadan Dynasties, (Westminster, 1894), 170.

33. For this expression cf. the text, 97.

34. The text has: رآنا -
The translation has been suggested for - أَرَيْنَاهُ -
Cf. the editor's note.

35. The text has: ودارت بينهم رحى الحرب -
Lit. The millstone of war revolved.....

36. The text has: ضرب المدام بقعة الحدام
Cf. the editor's note.

37. This battle would appear to have taken place in 558/1163 (and not in 556/1161 as our text suggests). As we have seen elsewhere (text, 146-47 and the notes), during 556/1161 Eldigüz was engaged in al-Jibāl in settling matters with the troublesome Īnanch.

In the light of this it seems improbable that he may have dealt with both the enemies in the same year. Minorsky, who has at his disposal al-Fāriqī's Tārīkh Mayyafāriqūn and some Georgian sources has quite detailed background information

on Muslim-Georgian relations and the events which eventually obliged Eldigüz to set out against the Georgians. The essence of the material he has on the subject appears as follows: in Jumādā I 556/ May 1161, Ani was captured by the Georgian king of Abkhāz, Giorgi. After a few months, in Sha‘ban/ August of the same year, a combined Muslim force consisting of the troops of the Shāh-Arman and the lords of Erzerum and Kars and Surmārī came to recapture the town, but their attempt was foiled and they had to suffer a terrible defeat at the hands of king Giorgi. After inflicting this defeat on the Muslims, the Georgian advanced the following year and sacked Duwīn and Ganja. These developments around Āzarbā ījān and Arrān, the real centre of the power of Eldigüz, were enough of a reason for his concern and hence the battle between him and the Georgians in 558/1163 in which Eldigüz seems to have freed Anī from the Georgians. They once again are reported as having entered the town the following year, but withdrew soon after, probably on hearing about Eldigüz who came there and assigned the town to Shāhanshāh b. Manūchihr of the Shaddādid family. See Shaddādids, 88-98. Minorsky gives a brief description of the versions of our text and of Raw.'s. See also Nish, 77; Raw, 287-89; IA, XI, 184, 185, 188-89; D. Allen, A History of the Georgian People, (London, 1932), 102. For a

general survey see Luther, 144-151, 154. Luther has the essence of our text's account and a brief commentary on it. For further continuation see the text, p. 168 and n. 54 below.

38. In the light of the account of Nish and Raw it may be suggested that the message of Ay-Aba reached the atabeg at Zanjān where he had come to join the sultan. From there they came to Rayy. See Nish, 79; Raw, 294. See also Luther, 175, n. 61. Cf. n. 42 below.

39. The text has a lacuna here, but the sense of the sentence is clear.

40. Although the text has a lacuna here, the meaning of the line is obvious.

41. He is Fakhr al-Dīn 'Abd al-'Azīz, the lord of Nīshāpūr, a great scholar and a descendant of Abū Ḥanīfa, the founder of the Ḥanafī sect.

He first bought, patronised and educated a Turkish mamlūk Ay-Beg who later became the founder of the Ghulāmān (slave) dynasty of Delhi (602-962/1206-1555). Minhāj al-Dīn al-Jūzjānī, Ṭabāqāt Naṣirī, ed. W.N. Lees, K. Ḥusayn, Abd al-Ḥayy, (Calcutta, 1864), 138.

42. Here our author once again seems to have confused the chronology. Although Nish and Raw do not

make an explicit mention of these, one gets the impression from their order of the events that these in all likelihood, took place after Īnanch had made a descent on Rayy with the help of the Khwārazmīs in 562/1162 (see the text, 148-49, n. 21 above). Nish and Raw 's reference to the fleeing of Īnanch from Eldigüz and Arslan-Shāh towards Jurjān and our text's reference to the presence of Eldigüz at Bistām (near Jurjān) around this time supports the suggestion. Moreover, the alliance of the Khwārazm-Shāh with Īnanch in al-Jibāl may have encouraged the former, as Luther suggests, to try his luck in Khurāsān as well, which, of course, being far from the real centre of the power of Eldigüz, was more exposed to penetration by a powerful army than al-Jibāl. Nish, 79-80; Raw, 294-95. For a general survey see Luther, 174-77.

43. Reigned 544-64/1149-69. Dynasties, 121.
44. The reference here is to Toghrīl-Shāh b. Muḥammad (551-63/1156-68). Afḍal al-Dīn Kirmānī, Badā'i al-azmān fī waqā'i Kirmān, ed. M. Bayānī, (Tehran, 1326/1947), 29-31; Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, Tarīkh-i Saljūqiyān Kirmān, ed. M.T. Houtsma, (Leiden, 1886), 34-35. The sources use the kharājī calendar which seems to be five years and about four months behind the hijra calendar. See S.H. Taqīzādeh, "Various Eras and Calendars used in the Countries of Islam",

BSOAS, IX (1937-39), 912-13. Taqīzādeh further says that the kharāji dates given by the above-mentioned sources are erroneous and inconsistent.

45. The reference is to Malik Arslan. See n.50 below.
46. Cf. Afḍal al-Dīn who says that they were four: Bahrām-Shāh, Tūrān-Shāh, Malik Arslan, and Terken-Shāh. The last one, however, could not come to prominence. Op. cit., 31. See also Muḥammad b. Ibrahīm, op. cit., 35.
47. The capital of the province of Kirmān, which was also later on called Kirmān. The town lay to the north of Jīruft close to the Great Desert (Mafāza). Ist, 161; Haw, 220; Muq, 461-62; Hud, 129; Yaq, I, 555; Fida, 337; Must, 139; LEC, 303-4.
48. The text has a lacuna here, but the sense of the sentence is clear.
49. For further details about this see zayn in Lexicon.
50. Afḍal al-Dīn, who has a first hand knowledge of these events and furnishes us with quite interesting details about them says that atabeg Eldigüz and sultan Arslan-Shāh did provide Malik Arslan with military aid against his brother Bahrām-Shāh, but then, according to him, the contending brothers reached an amicable settlement and shared out

Kirmān between themselves. According to the agreement Malik Arslan secured a share which was double that of his brother's, with Bardasīr (Guwāshīr) as his capital, while Bahrām-Shāh had to be content with the eastern third with Bām as his capital. Malik Arslan, it is quite understandable, must have been extremely indebted to Eldigüz and sultan Arslan-Shāh for their help, as our text records. Afdal al-Dīn notes that Malik Arslan returned from al-Jibāl, bringing the army from there, in the year 560 kharājī (i.e. 565/1169-70). It is worth mentioning that Bahrām-Shāh died in the year 564 kharājī (i.e. 570/1169), while Malik Arslan followed him two years later. Afdal al-Dīn, op. cit., 43-49, 61, 76. For the struggle between the brothers for the throne of Kirmān before the approaching of Malik Arslan to Eldigüz, see ibid., 31-35, 37-43. See also Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, op. cit., 36-59; cf. IA, XI, 235-36; Iranian World, 173; Luther, 183-94.

51. IA, XI, 247, who places his death in 568/1172.
52. For the nature of the relationship between sultan Arslan-Shāh and atabeg Eldigüz see also Bun, 300, who notes that the sultan and his lands were virtually ruled by the atabeg. IA, XI, 256, notes that the sultan had no power and had no free access to the treasury. He received only

a fixed amount. See also Luther, 137-44.

53. See also Munt, X, 232-33; IA, XI, 236-38.

54. A more probable date of his death would appear to be 571/1175, as recorded by the contemporary Nīshāpūrī, followed by the death of his ward, sultan Arslan-Shāh, two months later.

After his involvement in Kirmān affairs (see the text above, 164-66) until his death, Eldigüz seems to have taken part in a number of activities which our text omits: in 568/1172-73 the Turcomans came and went on the rampage in Dīnawār. Eldigüz chased them off towards Baghdad. Then in 570/1174-75, the Georgians took Anī and Eldigüz attempted to recapture the town, but suffered a severe defeat at the hands of the enemy. A year later he is reported to have led another expedition into the lands of the Georgians. See Nish, 81-2; Bun, 301; Raw, 299-301; IA, XI, 255, 260 (IA. has Eldigüz's death in 568/1172.); Shaddādids, 96-100; Luther, 194-201.

55. Bun, 301, says that it was rumoured that the sultan was poisoned by his uterine brother Pahlawān b. Eldigüz. For a detailed discussion on it see Remarks, 140-42; Luther 201-4. See also n. 54 above.

56. He is Amīrān b. Shumla Ay-Toghdī al-Turkamānī

- b. Kush-Toghan. He came to power after the death of his father who had been the lord of Khūzistān for about 20 years (550-70/1155-74). See Bun, 287; IA, XI, 106-7, 133, 280.
57. A town and district in al-Jibāl to the south-west of Hamadān and Asadābād. Ist, 197; Haw, 256, 260; Yaq, IV, 69-70; Fida, 413; Must, 108; LEC, 186-87; EI^{II}, art. Kirmānshāh, Lambton.
58. The reference is to the battle in 570/1174 between Shumla and the Turcomans, in which the latter are reported to have been assisted by the army of Pahlawān. See Munt, X, 255; IA, XI, 280.
59. Cf. Bun, who has يلقش (Il-Fuqshat). Raw has in one place يلقش (Il-Qufshat), 259, and in another فقش (Fuqshat). Both the sources have his honorific as Jamāl al-Dīn.
60. "Pahlawān" would appear here to be a scribal error for "malik Muḥammad", as is evident from the context. Cf. Luther, 208, who seems to have overlooked it.
61. The reference here is to a town of Iraq situated near al-Ḥilla and Kūfa on a canal of the same name. Muq, 27; Yaq, IV, 861; Fida, 53, 296; LEC, 72-3.
62. The text has دژا. The translation has been

suggested for أَذِنُوا .

63. Our text seems to be the only source which has a detailed account of these developments. The events took place probably in 572/1176-77. See Munt, X, 264; Raw, 331-32. For a general survey see Luther, 206-9.
64. See also IA, XI, 303-4.
65. This would appear to have taken place in 572/1176-77 or a year later. The sources do not provide us with explicit details about these events. See also Nish, 83; Raw, 332 and ns. 1-2, p. 335. They speak of an expedition in the direction of Āzarbā Ījān. For a discussion see Luther, 209-10, 226.
66. Reigned, 567-96/1172-1200. Dynasties, 107.
67. For further details about the relationship between Pahlawān and contemporary rulers see Luther, 220-234.
68. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm has his death in the last month of 581/1186 and the additional information that he died at Rayy and that sultan Toghrīl was at Sāwa at this time. See Dhayl, 85. See also Bun, 301, and IA, XI, 346 who has his death at the beginning of 582/1186. See also Raw, 337, who confirms Dhayl's date.

Before his death, Pahlawān either directly or indirectly was involved in a number of events which our text omits: between ca. 576-ca. 578/1180-82, Dakla (Degele) b. Zangī, the Salghurid ruler of Fārs (570-90/1175-94) rebelled. Pahlawān and Toghrīl put down this rebellion with the help of Ḥusām al-Dawla Ardashīr of Māzandarān (567-602/1172-1206). Ibn Isfandiyār, Tārīkh Ṭabaristān, tr. E.G. Browne, (Leiden, 1905), 252; Luther, 218-23.)

In 580/1184, Qizīl-Arslan, the lord of Āzarbā ījān, sent an army, presumably with the consent of his brother Pahlawān, to Irbīl, a town lying between the two Zāb rivers to the south of Mosul, on the request of ‘Izz al-Dīn Mas‘ūd I, the Zangid lord of Mosul (572-89/1176-93) to regain the possession of the town from Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, the Ayyūbid ruler (564-89/1169-93) who had taken it over a year earlier. The army of Qizīl-Arslan, however, instead of trying to achieve the objective for which they were asked to come, started to plunder and loot which obliged the populace of the town to drive them off. In the following year (581/1185) Pahlawān and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn both can be seen contending for Akhlāṭ after the death of its lord Shāh-Arman Suqmān II b. Ibrāhīm who left no heir to replace him and his dominion was taken over by one of his mamlūk generals called Begtimur.

Pahlawān is reported to have encamped near Akhlāṭ, while Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn was at Mayyāfāriqīn. Begtimur and the notables of the town however, declared their allegiance to Pahlawān and the khutba was read in his name. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn had to withdraw.

(IA, XI, 329-30, 331-32, 338-39; Luther, 233-37.)

In the same year, probably a little before the death of Pahlawān, there is a mention of a contact between him and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. The latter while at Mosul is reported to have asked Pahlawān to allow him to enter into his territories to demolish the Bāṭinī citadels in Qazwīn, Bistām and Dāmghān. Pahlawān was alarmed by this and thought that Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn might use it as a pretext for his expansionist aims. So he set out against him and he (Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn) was obliged to return home. Raw, 337; Luther, 238.

69. Regarding him see the text, 197 and n. 122 below.

70. The text has: **الاوامر الشريفة النبوية**

71. The text has: **وَصَلَ** (He reached), which seems inappropriate here. The translation has been suggested for **سَارَ**.

72. The personage should not be confused with Mu'ayyid al-Dīn Ay-Aba of Khurāsān, for whom cf. the text, 123 and the note.

73. For them see also the text 182, 191 below.
74. The text has: **فلا عطر لجد عروس**
 Lit. "There is no perfume after 'Arūs." For this Arabic proverb see Aḥmad al-Maydanī, Majma' al-amthāl, (Beirut, 1962), II, 211-12.
75. The text has: **لا ينادى وليد ها**
 Lit. "where the boy will not be called out to." For this Arabic proverb see walada in Lexicon. Cf. the text, p. 183, n. 94 below.
76. He is Jalāl al-Dīn 'Ubayd Allāh b. Yūnus, whom caliph al-Nāṣir had appointed his wazīr in 583/1187. See IA, XI, 372, XII, 15.
77. A place near Hamadān. Raw, 227, n.6.
78. Iwā was a branch of the Ghuzz tribe. See al-Kāshgharī, Dīwān lughāt al-Turk, I, 56; Remarks, 148, n.1; Raw, 346, n.1.
79. See also Raw, 346.
80. This battle seems to have taken place in 584/1188. See Dhayl, 85-7; Raw, 338-46; IA, XI, 347, 371, XII, 15-6; Remarks, 146-48; Luther, 241-48, 250.
81. The text has: **فكان كلما اوصل الحجاب
شيئا من ذلك**
82. A district and town in the province of Āzarbā ījān, situated to the south-west of Urmīya in the

neighbourhood of the Iraqi town of Mosul.

Ist, 182; Haw, 239; Hud, 158; Yaq, I, 284;
Must, 86; LEC, 165; EI^I, art. Ushnū, Minorsky.

83. A district and town in Āzarbā ījān at a distance of three days' march from Tabrīz to the west of the Great Lake which is called by the same name. Faq, 285; Ist, 181; Haw, 239; Yaq, I, 172, 219; Fida, 397; Must, 84; LEC, 160; EI^I, art. Urmiya, Minorsky.

84. For the marriage between Qizīl-Arslan and Īnanch Khatun see also Dhayl, 86, which has it in 583/1187 at Sāwa when Qizīl-Arslan was on the way towards Rayy in pursuit of Ay-Aba and Rūs. See the text, 175. See also Raw, 363, who says that their first marriage-night was at Isfahān when Qizīl had seized and shut sultan Toghrīl in a citadel at Tabrīz (586/1190). Cf. the text, 180 below.

85. The citadel was situated between Irbīl and Daqūqa, probably near Shahrāzūr which lay close to the river Zāb. (Yaq, III, 340, IV, 257; Fida, 413; cf. n. 86 below.) The above-mentioned battle would appear to have taken place in 585/1189. Before this conflict Qizīl-Arslan seems to have read the khutba and minted coins in the name of Sanjar b. Sulaymān-Shāh. Dhayl, 87-9; Bun, 301-2;

Raw, 355-62 and for some background information, pp. 347-55. Raw further notes that Sanjar b. Sulaymān-Shāh mounted the throne at Hamadān after Toghril was seized by Qizil the following year (see p. 363). Cf. the text below, 180. See also Remarks, 149; Luther, 251-52.

86. Two tributaries of the Tigris on its eastern bank - one known as al-Zāb al-a'lā or al-akbar (the upper or greater Zāb) and the other as al-Zāb al-asfal or al-aṣghar (the lower or lesser Zāb).

The source of both the rivers was the mountains between Armenia and Āzarbā Ījān; the upper Zāb rose in the district of Mushtakahar (Mushtaghar) and the lower in the district of Daybūr near Shahrāzūr.

The first merged into the Tigris at al-Ḥadītha near Mosul and the second discharged its water into it near al-Sinn. See Khur, 93; Ist, 77; Haw, 155-56; Hud, 48; Yaq, II, 902-3; Fida, 55; Must, 215; LEC, 90-91; EI^I, art. al-Zāb, Honigmann.

87. This was probably in 586/1190. Dhayl, 88-9; Bun, 302; Raw, 362; Remarks, 150; Luther, 252.

88. Dhayl, 89, has as his prison, the citadel of Kahrān on the bank of the river Araxes. Raw, 362, has Dizmār (or Dizzamār), which is a place

with a citadel to the north of Tabrīz lying a little further south on the bank of the Araxes. See Yaq, IV, 573; Must, 88; LEC, 176.

89. This seems to have occurred in 587/1191. Dhayl, 89; Bun, 302; Raw, 363; IA, XII, 49-50. For a detailed discussion on the death of Qizil-Arslan see Remarks, 142-44, where the author suggests that another motive for Īnanch Khatun's having her husband killed could have been his (Qizil's) preference for Abū Bakr over his half-brothers, the sons of Īnanch Khatun by Pahlawān.
90. For it see also Must, 89; LEC, 167.
91. Our text is probably the only source which provides us with this detail of Abū Bakr b. Pahlawān establishing himself in Āzarbā Ījān and Arrān. Cf. also Dhayl, 89; Bun, 302; Raw, 363.
92. Raw , as the editor also notes, has Anas-Oghlu (see pp. 364, 369). Dhayl, has Ayas-Oghlu (p.89).
93. For these events see Dhayl, 89-90; Bun, 302-03; Raw, 363-65; IA, XII, 61. The battle between Toghril and the sons of Īnanch Khatun took place in 588/1192. It was after this battle that the sources note that the Khwārazm-Shāh Tekish made his appearance at Rayy, took over the citadel

of Tabarak and held sway there. But he had soon to return to Khwarāzm where his rival brother Sultān-Shāh was causing trouble. Dhayl, 90; Raw, 366; IA, XII, 69; Turkestan, 346; Remarks, 151.

94. The text has: لا ينادى ولياً
For a literal translation of this proverb cf. the text above, 176, n. 75.
95. For continuation see the text below, 184-85 and n. 98.
96. Dhayl, 90, which has the marriage between Toghrīl and İnanch Khatun in Ramadān 588/1192; cf. Raw, 366-67 who has it a year later. Dhayl's order of events is more convincing. See also n. 103 below.
97. For a variant of his name cf. the text, p. 179 above.
98. This battle between Abū Bakr b. Pahlawān, the lord of Āzarbāījān, on the one hand, and his half brothers İnanch Mahmūd and Amīr Amīrān 'Umar, on the other, appears to have taken place in 588/1192. Dhayl, 90.
99. For its continuation see the text below, p. 190.
100. The reference is to Abu'l-Muzaffar Manūchīhr b. Kasrān (c. 550-602/1155-1205). H. Edhem, Düvel-i

Islāmīye, (Istanbul, 1927), 245.

101. She is Tamara (580-609/1184-1212), daughter of Giorgi III. D. Allen, A History of the Georgian People, 103; Iranian World, 179.

102. The text has **مجدلين** (?)
The translation has been suggested for **مَجْدَلِينَ**, mujandalīn.

103. Bearing in mind the more convincing order of the events in Dhayl, 90-1, it would appear that the most likely date for this expedition would be the first part of 589/1193. According to the text, 184, these events took place after the death of Īnanch Khatun, which can roughly be fixed at the end of the previous year. See also Minorsky, "Caucasia II: The Georgian Maliks of Ahar" BSOAS, XIII, (1951), 872, 873, reproduced in idem, The Turks, Iran and the Caucasus in the Middle Ages, (London, 1978), V.

104. The text has: **وطار بجناح العجلة**
Lit. He flew with the wings of haste.

105. There is a lacuna in the text. Bosworth has his name as Pīshkīn. See EI^{II}, Ildenizids or Ildiguzids.

106. There is a lacuna in the text. See n. 105 above.

107. A town in the province of Arrān to the north-west of Ganja at a distance of about 10 farsakhs from it. Ist, 187, 193; Haw, 244, 251; Hud, 161; Yaq, III, 322; Fida, 403; LEC, 178-79.
108. All these events seem to have occurred during c.589-c.605/1193-1208. For some of the expeditions of the Georgians in the Muslim lands during this period see IA, XII, 120, 133-34, 159, 160, 169; Allen, op. cit., 106-8; Allen's account is based on Georgian sources. See also Minorsky, op. cit., 873-74.
109. This would appear to have taken place during the last part of 589/1193 or in the beginning of 590. Dhayl, 90; Raw, 370; IA, XII, 70; Remarks, 151.
110. A place in Qūmis between Rayy and Dāmghān. Ist, 206, 210-11; Haw, 269, 271; Hud, 147; Yaq, III, 141; Fida, 437; Must, 161; LEC, 366.
111. From other sources it would appear that on this occasion Īnanch Maḥmūd obtained a considerable number of troops from the Khwārazm-Shāh and came to Rayy to wrest it from Toghrīl's hand. He was, however, routed by Toghrīl. It was after this that he seems to have again joined the Khwārazm-Shāh who was in Simnān. (See the report that follows in the text.) This was

probably at the beginning of 590/1194.

Dhayl, 90; IA, XII, 70; see also al-Juwaynī, Tārīkh Jahān Gusha, ed. M. Qazwīnī, II, 30; Remarks, 151.

112. A small town to the east of Rayy at a distance of 20 farsakhs from it. Ist, 206, 208; Haw, 269; Hud, 142; Yaq, II, 479; Fida, 423; Must, 161; LEC, 367.

113. The text has: وتبقى الوجوه لياها
Lit. The faces will remain with their waters.

114. A small town of the dependencies of Rayy at a distance of two days' march from it on the way to Sāwa. Ist, 214; Haw, 274; Muq, 400; Yaq, IV, 543.

115. For the location of this place see G. Le Strange, Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate, 17, 101, 281, 288.

116. The text has فرها which cannot be identified.

117. Our text has some valuable additional information in the form of personal narrative about this decisive battle between the last Saljūq sultan and the Khwārazm-Shāh. See also Dhayl, 91; cf. Bun, 303 (under 589/1193, which is unlikely). Raw, 371; IA, XII, 70; al-Juwaynī, op. cit., II, 31-2; Turkestan, 346-47; Remarks, 151-52; Luther, 255-57.

118. The sentence is incomplete. Probably the reference is to Chaghri Beg being the commander of the Saljūq army in this battle. See the text, 11-2.
119. Cf. the text, 71, where the date of his death is reported as 16 Shawwāl, 485.
120. The text has ^أمذوقاً (ma'dhūq ?).
The translation has been suggested for ^أمخذتاً, mughdiq.
121. The exact pronunciation of the second component of this name is uncertain. Different forms such as Mengu-Barnī, Mengu-Bertī, have been suggested. For a detailed discussion on it see M. Qazwīnī's note in al-Juwaynī, op. cit., II, 284-92. See also EI^{II}, art. Djalal al-Dīn Khwārazm-Shāh, Boyle.
122. He is Muẓaffar al-Dīn Ōz-Beg, who came to power in Āzarbā ījān after the death of his brother Abū Bakr in 607/1210. Before this, the centre of his activities was the northern part of al-Jibāl. For further details about him see EI^I, art. Uzbek, Minorsky; idem, "Caucasia II: The Georgian Maliks of Ahar", BSOAS, XIII, (1951), 868-74; reproduced in idem, op. cit.; EI^{II}, art. Ildenizids or Eldiguzids, Bosworth.

123. Cf. IA, who has "a citadel at Ganja", which seems unlikely (XII, 284).
124. This took place at Tabrīz in 622/1225. For details see IA, XII, 280-85; al-Juwaynī, op. cit., II, 153-58. For further references see n. 122 above.

APPENDICES

Probable chronology of the events
which cover pp. 126-94 of the text.

APPENDIX I

Text pp. 126-45

- 547/1152 Sultan Mas'ūd dies. Malik-Shāh b. Muḥammad comes to the throne in Hamadān.
- 547/1153 Malik-Shāh is seized, deposed and imprisoned after a short reign of only a few months.
- 548/1153 Malik-Shāh's brother Muḥammad arrives in Hamadān from Khūzistān and takes power. Malik-Shāh escapes from his "prison". Sulaymān-Shāh comes from Zanjān to Hamadān and forces Muḥammad to flee to Isfahān. Sulaymān-Shāh mounts the throne. But after a short reign he flees to Māzandarān and Muḥammad returns to Hamadān. Sulaymān-Shāh eventually reaches Khurāsān where he is proclaimed sultan.
- 549/1154 A battle takes place between the caliph al-Muqtafī and the Saljūq shahna Mas'ūd al-Bilālī at Bajizma. Arslan-Shāh b. Toghrīl who seems to be at Takrīt at this time joins atabeg Eldigūz in Āzarbā Ijān. Sulaymān-Shāh has by this time left Khurāsān and is on the move.
- 550/1155 The marauding Sulaymān Shāh eventually reaches Baghdad where he is received by

the caliph al-Muqtafī and declared as sultan.

- 551/1156 Muḥammad's plan to march on Baghdad fails due to the apathy of his amīrs. A battle takes place near Nakhchiwān between sultan Muḥammad on the one hand and the alliance of Sulaymān-Shāh, Malik-Shāh and Eldigüz on the other. The alliance has the support of the caliph al-Muqtafī. Sultan Muḥammad emerges victorious in the battle. Eldigüz seeks pardon from him. Sulaymān-Shāh falls into the hands of amīr Zayn al-Dīn 'Alī Kūchūk of Mosul and is confined in a citadel there.
- 552/1157 Muḥammad lays siege to Baghdad in the early part of the year. Taking advantage of his absence Malik-Shāh and Eldigüz who has Arslan-Shāh with him take over Hamadān. They withdraw from it however, when Muḥammad approaches.
- 553/1158 Sultan Muḥammad probably makes peace with his brother Malik-Shāh and allocates Khūzistān to him.
- 554/1159 Sultan Muḥammad dies at the end of the year.
- 555/1160 Malik-Shāh comes to Iṣfahān and proclaims

himself sultan. He, however, dies soon. More or less at the same time Sulaymān-Shāh is brought to Hamadān from Mosul and is installed as sultan. Caliph al-Muqtafī's death and the accession of al-Mustanjid to the caliphate coincide with this. In the later part of the year Sulaymān-Shāh is removed from the office by the amīrs and imprisoned. Arslan-Shāh comes with Eldigüz to Hamadān and becomes sultan. Sulaymān-Shāh is put to death probably early in the following year.

APPENDIX II

Text pp. 145-69

- 556/1161 Anī is captured by Giorgi, the king of the Abkhāz. A battle takes place between Eldigüz and Īnanch. A Muslim attempt to recapture Anī is foiled.
- 557/1162 Georgians sack the towns of Duwīn and Ganja.
- 558/1163 The forces of sultan Arslan-Shāh and Eldigüz with the assistance of Shāh-Arman inflict a terrible defeat on the king of the Abkhāz and Kurj.
- 559/1164 Georgians enter Anī but withdraw soon. Eldigüz gives the town to the Shaddādīd Shahānshāh b. Manūchīhr.
- 560/1165 Zangī of Fārs visits the sultan to pay obeisance to him.
- 561/1165 Sultan Arslan-Shāh comes to Rayy. Īnanch, the lord of Rayy probably seeks refuge with the ruler of Māzandarān. The sultan withdraws from the town. Then Eldigüz advances towards it. Īnanch flees towards Bistām and seeks help from the Khwārazm-Shāh Il-Arslan. Eldigüz assigns the town to ‘Umar b. ‘Alī Bār.

- 562/1166-67 İnanç makes a descent on Rayy with the help of the Khwarazmīs, but then withdraws towards Abhar and Qazwīn, while the Khwarazmīs flee in the direction of Khurāsān and Khwārazm. Eldigüz meets Arslan-Shāh at Zanjān and they both come to Rayy and then set out towards Khurāsān at the behest of Ay-Aba, the lord of Khurāsān. They go as far as Bistām. İnanç flees from there towards Jurjān.
- 563-64/
1168-69 ‘Umar b. ‘Alī Bār is removed from office. İnanç once again attempts to capture Rayy, this time with the help of the ruler of Māzandarān. Pahlawān b. Eldigüz fights him, but is defeated by İnanç.
- 564/1169 Eldigüz lays siege to Rayy. İnanç is killed. Rayy falls to Eldigüz. In the same year Malik Arslan of Kirmān approaches Eldigüz and the sultan to obtain their military aid for himself in the struggle against his brother for the throne in Kirmān.
- 565/1169-70 Eldigüz and the sultan send an army with Malik Arslan to Kirmān.
- 566/1170 Caliph al-Mustanjid dies. Al-Mustadī’ becomes caliph.

568/1172-73 Turcomans plunder Dīnawar. Eldigüz chases them off towards Baghdad.

570/1174-75 Georgians capture Anī. Eldigüz is defeated in a struggle for the recapture of the town.

571/1175 Eldigüz leads another expedition into the lands of the Georgians after which he dies. This is soon followed by the death of sultan Arslan-Shāh.

APPENDIX III

Text pp. 169-94

- 571/1176 Toghril b. Arslan-Shāh becomes sultan and Pahlawān b. Eldigüz his atabeg.
- 572/1176 Malik Muḥammad (the uncle of sultan Toghril) comes from Khūzistān and claims the throne for himself. He is, however, seized by Pahlawān and shut in the citadel of Sarjahān.
- 575/1179 Caliph al-Mustadī' dies. Al-Nāṣir becomes caliph.
- ca. 575-78/
1179-82 Dakla (Degele) b. Zangī (570-90/1175-94), the Salghurid ruler of Fārs rebels; his uprising is suppressed by Pahlawān and sultan Toghril.
- 579/1183 Sultan Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn of the Ayyūbid dynasty takes over Irbīl.
- 580/1184 'Izz al-Dīn, the lord of Mosul, seeks Pahlawān and his brother Qizil-Arslan's help against Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. Qizil-Arslan sends an army to help him which goes on the rampage there. The people of Irbīl drive them away.
- 581/1185 Sultan Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn attempts to capture

Akhlāṭ, after the Shāh-Arman dies leaving no heir to replace him. Pahlawān is encamped near Akhlāṭ, while Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn is at Mayyāfariqīn. The khuṭba is read for Pahlawān in Akhlāṭ.

ca. 581/
1186

Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn asks Pahlawān's permission to enter his territories to demolish the citadels of the Bāṭinīs there. But Pahlawān sets out to confront him and he withdraws.

ca. 582/
1186

Pahlawān dies and is succeeded by his brother Qizil-Arslan.

583/1183

Qizil-Arslan marries İnanch Khatun.

584/1188

A battle takes place between sultan Toghrīl and Jalāl al-Dīn b. Yūnus, the wazīr to the caliph at Day-Marg. The wazīr is defeated. Toghrīl then goes to Āzarbā ījān. Qizil-Arslan reads the khuṭba in the name of Sanjar b. Sulaymān-Shāh.

586/1190

Sultan Toghrīl is captured by Qizil-Arslan and is shut in a citadel in Āzarbā ījān.

587/1191

Qizil-Arslan is assassinated at Hamadān. Abū Bakr b. Pahlawān establishes himself in Arrān and Āzarbā ījān.

- 588-89/ Sultan Toghrīl escapes from his prison.
- 1192-93 A battle takes place at Qazwīn between him and Amīr Amīrān 'Umar and Īnanch Maḥmūd, the sons of Īnanch Khatun by Pahlawān. The sultan wins the day. Khwārazm-Shāh Tekish captures Rayy, but retires soon to Khwārazm. Sultan Toghrīl marries Īnanch Khatun and probably assassinates her. Īnanch Maḥmūd and his brother Amīr Amīrān 'Umar go to Āzarbā Ījān, but their half-brother Abū Bakr repels them. Amīrān goes to Shirwān-Shāh Manūchihr and then to the queen of the Georgians. A new struggle starts between Abū Bakr and the Georgians which outlasts the Saljūq dynasty. Amīrān's other brother Īnanch Maḥmūd on the other hand joins the Khwārazm-Shāh.
- 589-90/1193 Toghrīl recaptures Rayy.
- 590/1194 Īnanch Maḥmūd comes to Rayy bringing with him the Khwārazmī troops, but Toghrīl defeats them. Then the Khwārazm-Shāh Tekish himself advances towards Rayy and a fierce battle takes place between him and sultan Toghrīl near Rayy. Toghrīl is killed and the Saljūq dynasty is brought to an end.

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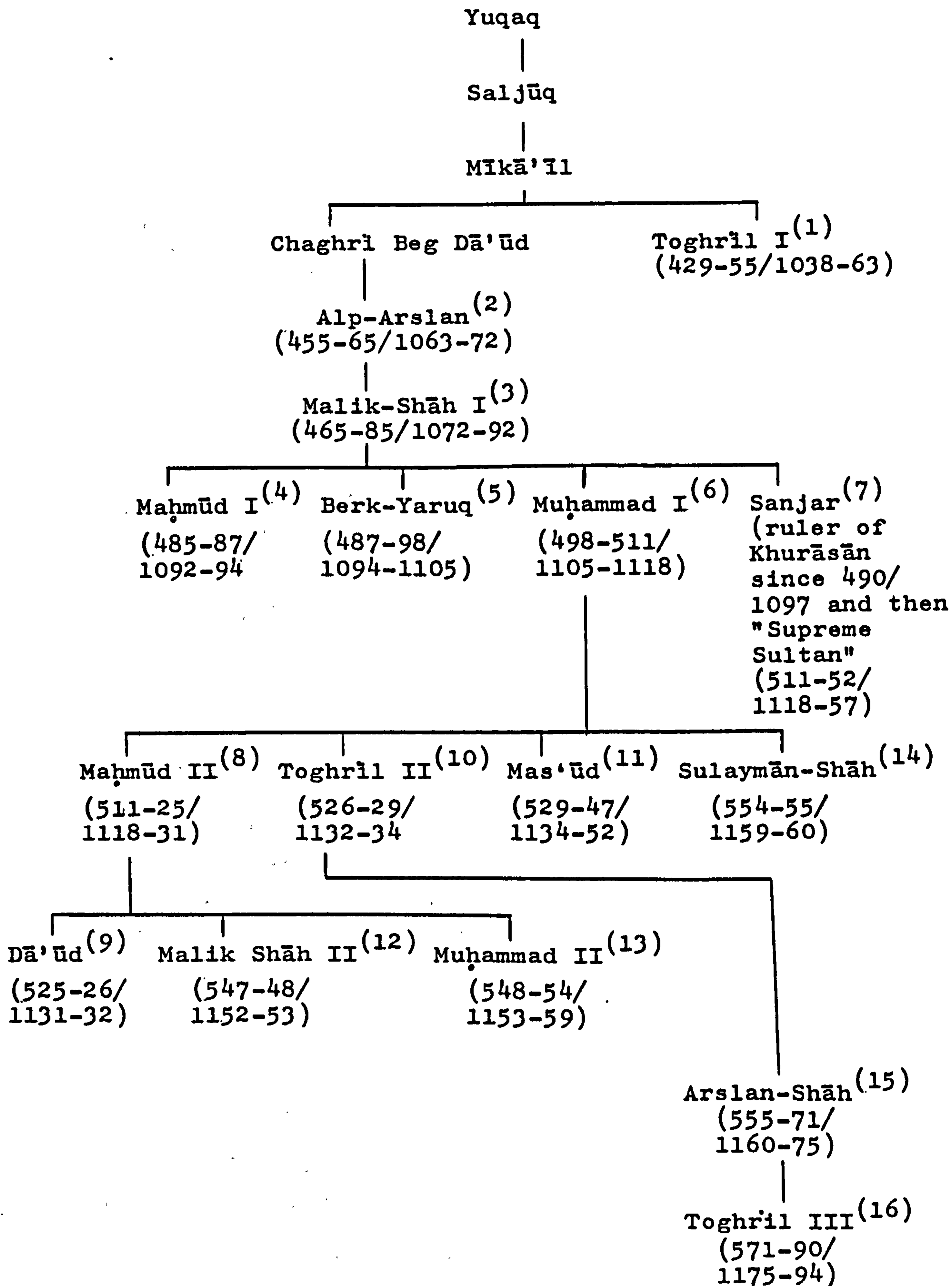
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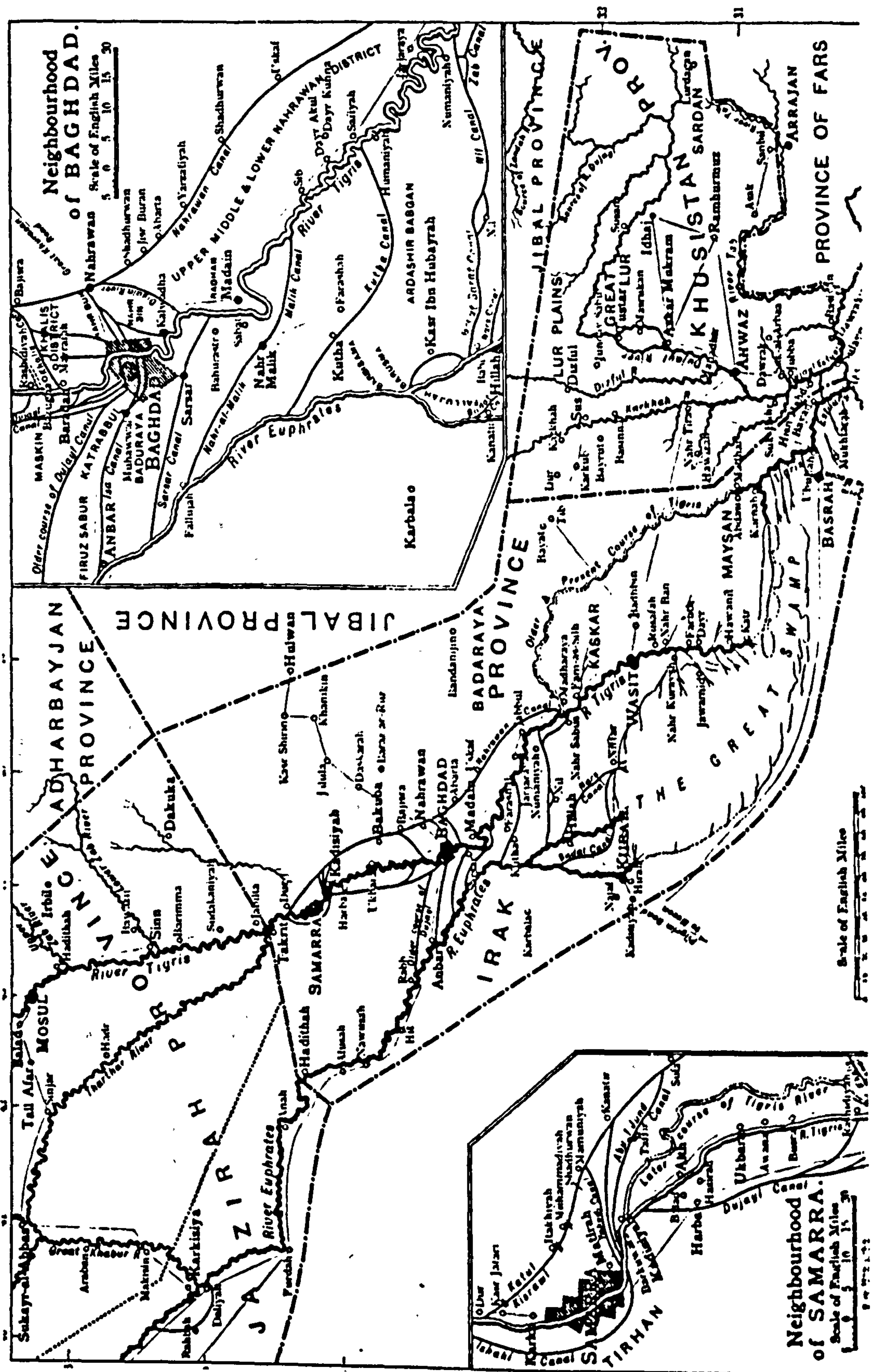
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GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF
THE SALJŪQ SULTANS

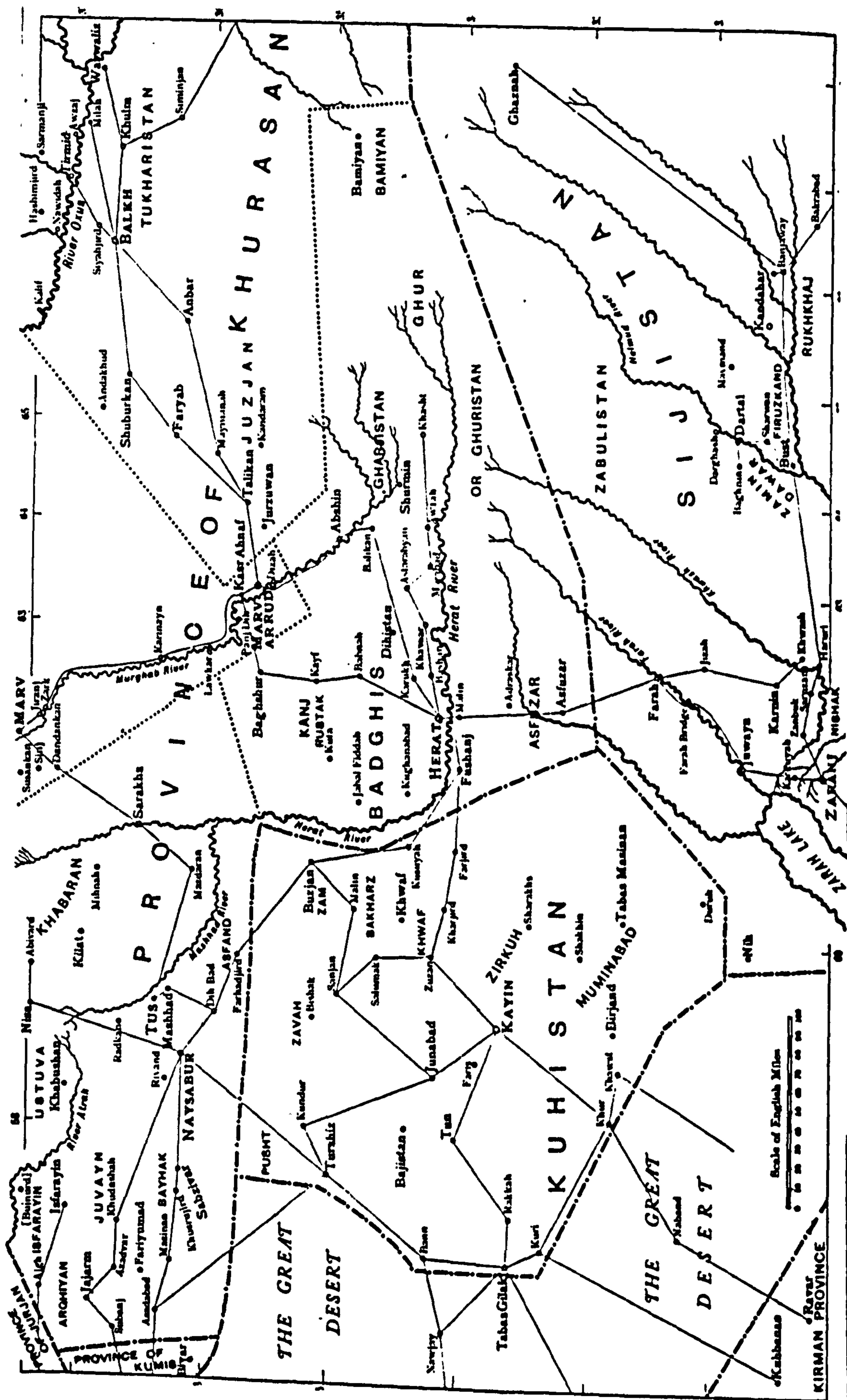


MAP I



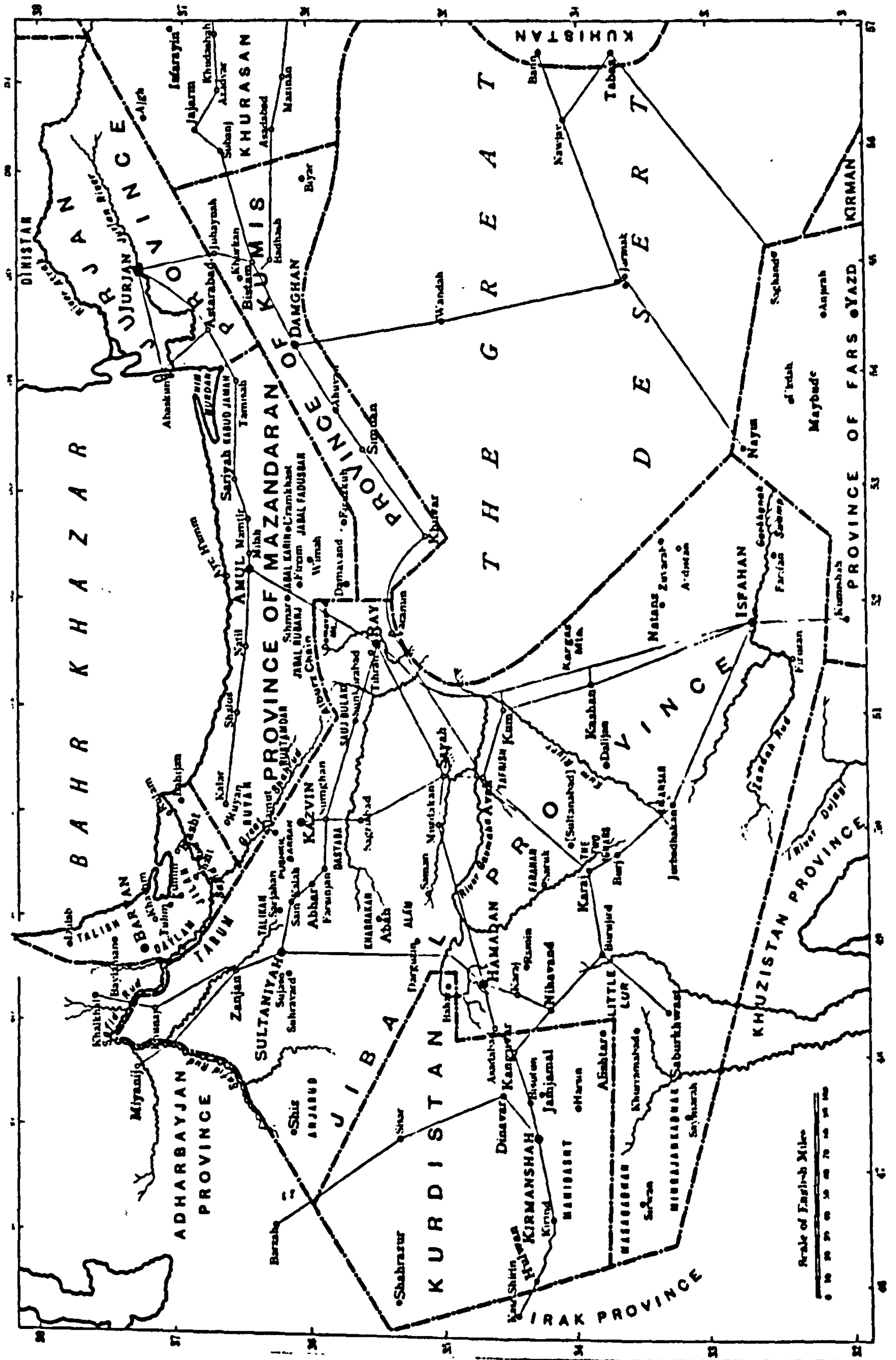
Map of Iraq and Khūzistān with part of al-Jazīra.

MAP II



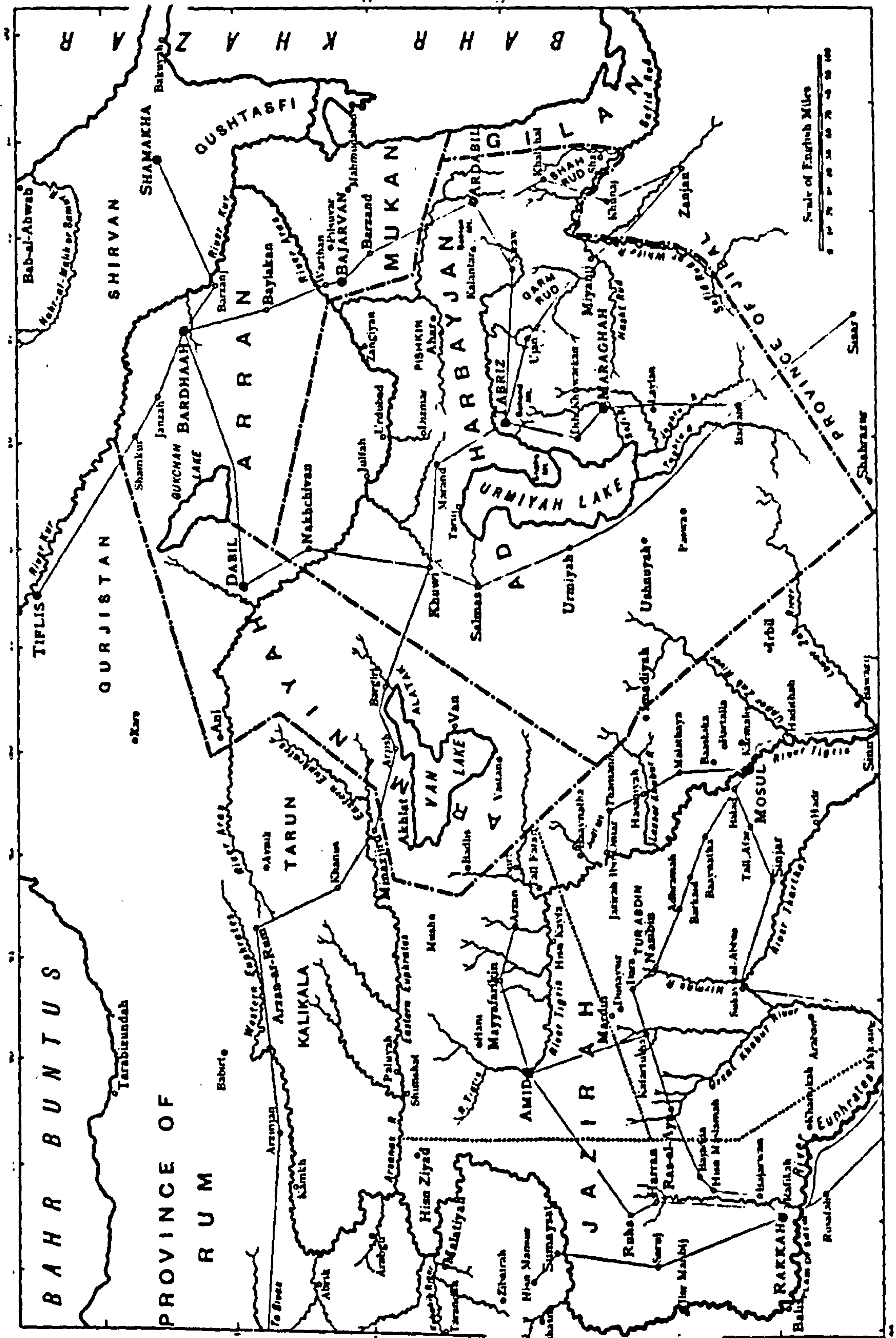
Map of Khurāsān and Sijistān (Sistān)

MAP III



Map of al-Jibāl and Qūmis.

MAP IV



Map of Āzarbāijān, Arrān, Armenia and al-Jazīra.

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